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OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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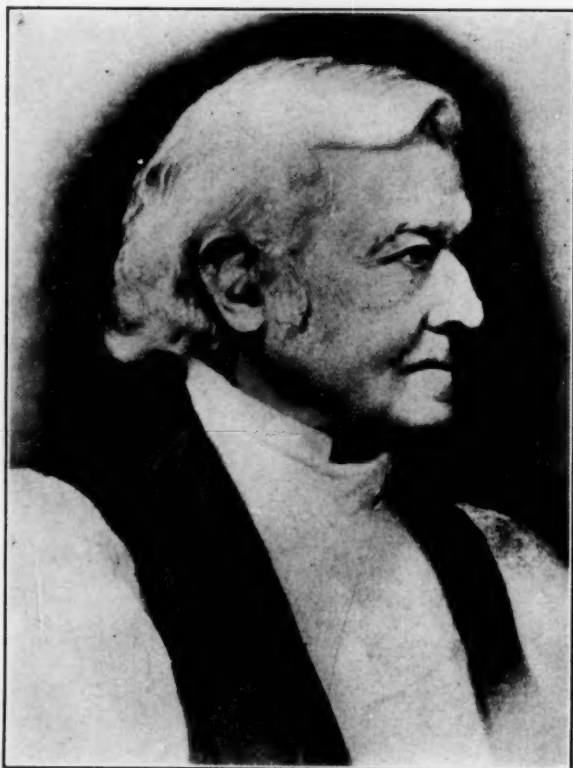
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I am truly & affly yr bro in Christ
Jackson Kemper

Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

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FOREWORD

The advancement of the borders of the Kingdom of God, "the lengthening of the cords and the strengthening of the stakes", has always marked the vigorous and healthy periods of the life of the Church. Following the separation of the American Colonies from England, the infant Episcopal Church found itself weak, and in many places discredited. It was a difficult time, a time first to find, and then firmly to establish itself. God raised great leaders for these purposes. But even in those very earliest days there were some of still larger vision who were concerned for those souls beyond what had been the borders of the original Colonies, concerned that even the weak and infant Church should enter into its full heritage and follow wherever men had gone. None was more zealous in this cause than Jackson Kemper, who from the year of his ordination to the priesthood preached fervently and worked constantly to stimulate and deepen interest in such missionary work. He became the Secretary of the first Missionary Society of the Church. He made the long and difficult voyage to Green Bay in what is now Wisconsin in the interests of that Society. Thus, when finally the Church was roused to its obligation, nothing could have been more natural than that Jackson Kemper should have been chosen the first Bishop of the vast territory of the central and north-west. The thirty-five years of his Episcopate are amazing in what he accomplished, the volumes of his correspondence, the distances he traveled, the large numbers he inspired, the permanence of his building. His passion for souls, his zeal for the Church, his personal devotion to his Lord, and the very charm of his character made Jackson Kemper the great "Apostle of the Wilderness." "There were giants in the earth in those days." Giants they were because of their obedience to the "Heavenly vision." "Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples; and they are written for our admonition."

+Bis: J. P. Swins.

Bishop of Milwaukee.

JACKSON KEMPER, PRESBYTER

By Howard Morris Stuckert, Ph.D.

LIKE William Augustus Muhlenberg, Jackson Kemper was of German ancestry. The latter's grandfather, Jacob Kemper, had come from Caub, near the Castle Gutenfels on the Rhine, in 1741. His father, Daniel Kemper, had been a colonel in the Revolutionary War. Of his second wife, Jackson was born in Pleasant Valley, Dutchess County, New York, near Poughkeepsie, December 24, 1789. Soon after the family moved into New York City, where the father was appointed by President Washington to a position in the Customs House. The infant son was baptized "David Jackson" by Dr. Benjamin Moore, then first assistant minister of Trinity Parish; the family being regular attendants at the services in St. Paul's Chapel. During his college days, the name "David" was dropped.

At the age of twelve young Jackson was sent to the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire, Connecticut. There the sensitive and well trained boy was quite unhappy. The school contained a coarse and rowdy element, so after some hesitation his father removed Jackson, who now completed his preparation for college under the Rev. Dr. Edmund Barry, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and one of the best scholars and teachers in the country.

In 1805, when only sixteen, he entered Columbia College, New York. It is recorded of his sensitive and impressionable soul that he was thrilled with the beauty of nature. The boy had been carefully nurtured by a devout and sympathetic mother. As he pursued his college course despite ill health and his father's financial losses, he gave his attention more and more to entering the sacred ministry. While still in college he joined a class organized by Dr. John Henry Hobart, then assistant minister of Trinity Church, which met weekly for the study of theology. When he graduated in 1809 he was valedictorian of his class.

Kemper now spent a year in theological training under Bishop Moore and Dr. Hobart. As soon as he attained his majority—the canonical age for ordination to the diaconate, Bishop Moore was stricken with paralysis. So the canonical authorities recommended

him to Bishop White, the Presiding Bishop, for ordination. In St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, he was made deacon by Bishop White on the Second Sunday in Lent, March 11, 1811. He preached his first sermon in St. James' Church in the same city.

Bishop White was not only Bishop of Pennsylvania and Presiding Bishop of the Church, but also the Rector of what was known as the United Churches of Christ Church, St. Peter's and St. James. The first of these was the mother Church in Philadelphia, having been founded as early as 1695. The newly ordained deacon and his first sermon made quite a stir in this ancient establishment of the Church. His interest in coming to Philadelphia was sought, but he excused himself and returned to New York. His mind was busied with other things and his heart weighed down. The one whom he loved was likewise loved by another, and that other was a friend and classmate. The lady's decision made that spring was against the young clergyman in favor of his friend, leaving a mark upon Jackson Kemper's sensitive soul that remained throughout life.

The minutes of the Vestry of the United Churches for May the 14th, 1811, show the following resolution: "That the Rev. Mr. Jackson Kemper be appointed Assistant Minister to the United Churches with a permanent salary of Three hundred fifty pounds per annum, and such additional allowance as the Vestry may from time to time vote for the other assistant ministers, said allowance being at present three hundred Dollars per annum." The young deacon was thus settled in Philadelphia as an assistant minister for the next twenty years. Associated with him in the United Churches were the Rev. James Abercrombie who, having been there since 1794, was destined to remain until 1832; the Rev. James Milnor from 1814 to 1816; the Rev. William Augustus Muhlenburg, who was presented for confirmation in Mr. Kemper's first class, from 1817 to 1820, and whose subsequent career was one of the most distinguished in the early annals of the American Church; the Rev. Wm. H. DeLancey, who came to the Parish in 1822, remained after Mr. Kemper's departure until 1836, and became the first Bishop of Western New York in 1839. In association with such clergy and many distinguished laymen and laywomen and under the rare tutelage of Bishop White, Jackson Kemper became one of the most experienced and well-balanced clergymen of the Church. Trained under John Henry Hobart in New York, his high viewpoint was tempered by the greater moderation, wisdom and diplomacy of the Primate of the Church.

Philadelphia was then a town of a hundred thousand people with a very varied social life. In and near the city were to be found

old Quaker families of both German and English descent, Roman Catholics, Scotch Irish Presbyterians, and a large group disseminating Deistic unbelief, the continuers of Benjamin Franklin's irreligious influence. Into this community Jackson Kemper threw himself with zeal and enthusiasm. Occupied with many services in the three Churches which made up the combined parish, he devoted himself to pastoral calling which he loved. From the first he was essentially the missionary. When not busy with services, lectures and classes in Philadelphia, he would go up to Germantown, about eight miles distant, and hold services there. St. Luke's Church, Germantown, was then being organized and Kemper went out frequently before a Rector was settled to conduct divine worship and visit the people. In the first two years of his Assistantship the communicant list of Christ Church grew from 200 to 300. His first confirmation class reached the extraordinary number of 180.

Two months after his ordination, at the first Diocesan Convention to which he was a delegate, he was elected its secretary, a post which was conferred upon him by each successive convention to 1817, inclusively.

The General Convention of 1811, after failing to provide for missionary activity beyond the Alleghenies, referred the matter to the Bishops of Pennsylvania and Virginia. But owing to the indisposition of the latter, the former had to proceed alone, which he did by organizing the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania. This organization was completed a few weeks prior to the Diocesan Convention of 1812. Its constitution was presented to and accepted by that Convention and some \$270.00 previously collected for missionary work was ordered paid to the new-born Society. Kemper, who had been active in the formation of the Society, was appointed its first missionary. In the summer of that year he undertook his first missionary tour. Setting out for Radnor, he pushed on to Lancaster, and then to York, Chambersburg, and found a little log church at Huntingdon with a little flock but without a pastor. Early in September he reached Trinity Church, Pittsburg, where he preached; pressing southward, he visited Brownsville, finding churches and church people but no ministers. Crossing into western Virginia, he visited Doddridge, sole missionary in that part of Virginia, who impressed upon him the need for immediate missionary action in the West and greatly widened his missionary horizon.* Retracing his steps, Kemper next visited Beaver on the Ohio River, thirty miles northwest of Pittsburg, from which place he

*For further details about Doddridge, see below: "The General Convention of 1835."

struck back eastward over the same general route and arrived home in the month of October.

In his convention address of 1811 Bishop White had said: "My constant course of parochial duty has prevented me from visiting any neighboring Church destitute of a minister." How differently in his 1813 address he speaks and with what evident satisfaction: "Since the last Convention, the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in this State . . . have begun their labours. Most of the vacant Churches have been visited under their direction." In the same year Kemper was active in establishing the Fund for the Episcopate in Pennsylvania.

Despite all these practical activities Kemper found time to continue his reading in the great theological classics and to brush up his Hebrew. He read a chapter of the Greek Testament daily. Yet he was not a scholar or a theologian, nor yet a preacher of any great note. First and last he was the pastor and the missionary.

Greenough White, in his memoir of Jackson Kemper,* gives us a characterization based upon personal recollection:

His temperament was pastoral rather than sacerdotal or oratorical. He was in his element when making a round of parish visits, which he found to be an easy and eligible means of imparting religious instruction; and his tenderness and personal kindness in times of trouble, sickness, or death endeared him deeply to his people. His prayers and ministrations by the sick bed were especially affecting.

He thoroughly enjoyed simple social visiting, both paying and receiving, and all his life long was very particular about calling on strangers and returning calls. He was a generous giver to every good cause, exemplifying with utmost consistency the principles of his sermon above quoted; indeed, his friends thought him liberal above what he could or ought to afford,—yet he was never in want.

Politically, he was bred in the Federal school, and was never known to express dislike of any one as emphatically as of Thomas Jefferson. This was remarked in one who was exceedingly restrained in criticism of others. On the other hand, he inherited from his New York Dutch ancestry and connections their long-standing prejudice against New England.

He was not a great man intellectually, not a thinker, scholar, writer or eloquent preacher. Such is the testimony of one who knew him best and loved him most,—and none was better aware of these facts than he himself. He had the most modest views of his powers and attainments, and was never satisfied with them but ever strove to improve

*"An Apostle of the Western Church," *New York, 1900; pp. 31, 32.* (Now out of print.)

himself. Like Washington, he felt and lamented his lack of intimate acquaintance with the past, with history and letters. He was lacking in imagination, as is shown by his indifference to poetry, the drama and fiction. He did not care for Shakespeare, and abhorred Byron; to that poet of reprobate nature he had an antipathy second in intensity only to that he felt toward Jefferson. Among poets he preferred Cowper, and his favorite prose-writer was Addison. He read and enjoyed Scott's romances as they came out. Among American authors, he met and liked both Irving and Cooper. He read newspapers on principle, believing that a minister should keep up with what is going on in the world. He was by no means lacking in humor of a gay and gentle kind; one of his most attractive qualities, which he never lost, was a certain boyish light-heartedness and zest for living. He had a quick and keen appreciation of the ludicrous side of things, expression of which, like Bishop Griswold, he thought it a duty to restrain.

As we have seen, he was affected by beauty and sublimity of landscape and scenery. He loved the mountains, and spoke enthusiastically of the great falls of Niagara. He observed, too, the details of nature, especially the outlines of leaves; he was fond of botany and other branches of natural history,—hence it was a rare pleasure to him to meet, in later years, the ornithologist Audubon.

He had a taste for bright colors and for sweets, but fought off the use of stimulants until the end of his life. He dressed plainly and wore no jewelry, but was scrupulously neat in all his habits. He shared the opinion of his day regarding amusements, holding that attendance at balls, theatres, and horse-races, and all card-playing, were entirely proscribed to the clergy, and were inconsistent with faithful church membership. In Philadelphia in his time card-playing and dancing only began after the clergy had left a party; it was considered an open disrespect to a minister to play or dance in his presence.

In height he was a trifle under the masculine average, being five feet, seven inches tall; his shoulders square, hands and feet shapely and delicate; of erect and graceful figure and springy gait. His voice was sweet but not very strong; and he had no ear for music. His complexion was fair, of good color but not ruddy, save as to the lips. A miniature taken of him by Tott, soon after he was priested, shows a face wide in proportion to its length, thick brown hair combed from left to right, looking as if blown by the wind, short side-whiskers, bright hazel eyes, chin fine and strong,—altogether a handsome face and pleasant expression.

In 1813, while still a Deacon, he was elected to the Standing Committee of the Diocese and continued to be a member of it until 1818. In July of the same year he received a call to become the

Assistant of the Rev. Dr. James Kemp, rector of St. Paul's, Baltimore, at a salary of \$1,333.33 with a house and other perquisites amounting to \$200.00. Not caring to be in the position of having the two parishes bid in competition for his services, he declined the invitation before the Vestry of the United Churches could act. At their meeting of July 19, 1813, they nevertheless increased his salary and significantly raised the pew rents fifty per cent!

After three years in the diaconate, having attained the canonical age of twenty-four, Jackson Kemper was raised to the priesthood by Bishop White in Christ Church on the Third Sunday after the Epiphany, January 23, 1814. Still another honor was bestowed upon this favored son of Bishop White who had risen to such sudden prominence. He was made Secretary of the House of Bishops at the General Convention of 1814.

At this time Bishop White with Mr. Kemper and Mr. Milnor started a Sunday School which "was the first school officially incorporated by any religious organization in America."

Mr. Milnor having been added to the staff of the United Churches, Kemper was enabled to undertake a second missionary journey. Starting out in August, 1814, he revisited the Churches along the old route of two years before, spending a fortnight at Huntingdon. A record of his activity here has been preserved for us, a paper that was evidently a report from him to the Advancement Society.

In church on Sunday, October 30th, he baptized the granddaughter of Dr. Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. On Tuesday he was in Barre Township, ten miles or more to the northwest. The next day finds him in Hopewell Township, thirty-five miles southwest of Huntingdon, publicly baptizing children of two families. Saturday he is back again in Huntingdon baptizing in private. On Sunday he is baptizing publicly two other members of the same family connection to whom he ministered in Barre Township on Tuesday. The next day, Monday, he baptized privately five more children in three different families. This simple record of thirteen baptisms doubtless indicates far more activity than appears on the surface.

The Church in the neighborhood of Pittsburg, where there were four clergymen, was in the doldrums due largely to the want of character on the part of the shepherds. Kemper turned north at Pittsburg to Butler, thirty miles away, and his record of his experiences is interesting:

"As the courthouse was to be occupied by the Presbyterians in the morning, a few Churchmen assembled with

me in a private room. I began by performing the whole of the baptismal service and baptizing three children; then administered the Communion to six persons, and baptized an adult."

In the afternoon he held service in the courthouse, and preached to a throng of hearers; baptized a child in private; and then dined with a widow and her many interesting children.

"She was anxious to have me read the burial service over her husband's grave. The request was a strange one, but after consideration I signified my willingness to comply if it would afford any consolation to the widow, and if her friends would accompany us to the grave. Just before sunset we left the house, she having gone before us with her children and servants. After walking a mile, we came to a large field on a hill full of sheep. In the center was the grave, palisaded by rails and covered with wild flowers. I began the service with feelings somewhat agitated. The setting sun, the bird's-eye view of the town, the sheep, the variegated landscape, and the mourners opposite me, all rendered the scene deeply interesting."

The youthful Missionary now crossed the Pennsylvania line into northeast Ohio, known as the Connecticut Reserve, where he remained most of the autumn.

"He encountered extremely primitive conditions: 'In the same place which serves as kitchen, drawing-room and parlor I have slept at night.' Sometimes a single drinking cup did duty for a whole family! The roads were shockingly bad; his horse had to wade and pick his way over logs; once he was thrown from his horse, and contracted rheumatism from a severe wetting. 'For a month I was traveling through a country nearly inundated with rain; the people were poor, the accommodations bad; sometimes I was benighted and sometimes exposed to dangers. To all these things it appeared to me I would soon become reconciled.' In truth, the underlying bent of his religious nature, his particular taste, endowment and vocation, were then and there fully revealed to him. In many counties through which he rode long vistas of usefulness opened upon his mental gaze. The people, however destitute of apparent necessities of life, proved to be highly intelligent; true Yankees that they were, they had already begun to establish public libraries! Church people, he discovered, were scattered about like sheep in a wilderness; many there were who had not lost their zeal, and who read the service and a sermon every Sunday in their homes. He preached at Canfield, Poland, and Boardman, baptized upon this part of his tour one hundred

and twenty-five souls, and administered the Communion to many 'who had despaired of ever enjoying its reception again.' He helped to form several congregations, and to create a demand for the Prayer Book to the extent of a thousand copies. He pleaded with the parents of a promising youth to let him study for the ministry in Philadelphia; and retraversed his steps, filled with enthusiasm by his new experiences, seriously considering within himself whether he were not called to this fresh field of work. He was ready and desirous to cast in his lot with the rising West, if only it were consistent with 'some filial duties of a pecuniary nature,' (that is, the support of his aging parents, to which, all through these years, and for some time to come, he largely contributed)."*

With the approach of Winter, Kemper started for home, reaching Philadelphia early in December.

The influence of Kemper's missionary enthusiasm and activity was telling on Bishop White, who only three years before had reported his inability to visit parishes outside of Philadelphia owing to his parochial cares. But now in the "General View of the State of the Church" offered to the General Convention of 1814, we read of Pennsylvania:

"The Venerable head of this diocese has been enabled to visit, during the last two years, some of the country congregations; the happy effects of these visits, are forcibly illustrated by the fact that in 1811, he reported to the convention that during the past year 61 persons had been confirmed; in 1812 he reported that 306 had received this holy rite; in 1813 he announced that during the last year the number amounted to 581."

This report refers to the Bishop in the third person and cites his own words in quotation marks, so we may be reasonably certain that another person wrote it, and that person was probably Jackson Kemper, as he had been Secretary of the Diocese since 1812. It is a most significant document, because it clearly indicates that the great increase in Confirmations noted was due to the visitation of the country parishes, and that the aged bishop was swept into the current of advance in the Church, a current which was at least partially started and largely promoted by the ardent missionary priest, Jackson Kemper.

The good work thus begun continued with unflagging zeal. It was an age when the people of the young growing republic had to be familiarized with the Prayer Book, when the unique positions of the

*White, *op. cit.* pp. 37-39.

Church had to be brought to public attention, and their superior value demonstrated. The Advancement Society undertook therefore to distribute tracts and Prayer Books in quantities. Finally in 1823 the Prayer Book Society was merged with the Advancement Society to become a branch of the latter. Vacant parishes were regularly supplied with occasional services by the missionaries of the Society; and new parishes were formed in the northwestern part of the Diocese. It was also a time when many young men were dedicating their lives to the priesthood of the Church.

At the same time (1816) the report of the Diocese of Pennsylvania indicated the creation of a new society for the "express purpose of sending Missionaries into the western states. Under its direction a young clergyman has visited with great success, many parts of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee." This organization was called the Episcopal Missionary Society of Philadelphia. It originated with Bishop White and his associates, notably Mr. Kemper.

Amid all these activities and distractions, Jackson Kemper was attracted to a Miss Jerusha Lyman—the oldest daughter of General William Lyman, a special agent of President Madison in London. After his death his three daughters returned from London and opened a private boarding school which continued to maintain a high reputation in Philadelphia for over a century until its disappearance very recently. Mr. Kemper and Miss Lyman were married in 1816 and spent their honeymoon on Lake George and Lake Champlain. Two years later Mrs. Kemper died, and for the second time in his life a romance ended in sorrow and disappointment. Before her death the Vestry of the United Churches granted their capable young assistant a leave of absence (August, 1818,) to enable him to take Mrs. Kemper south, in hopes that she might regain her health. One thousand dollars of his salary was advanced to him, the balance of his salary to be at his disposal at each current quarter. In order to do this the Vestry sold some of the stock of the Church, an action which shows sufficiently the high esteem in which Mr. Kemper was held by his parishioners.

The Diocesan Convention elected him a delegate to the General Convention of 1817 and continued to do so for the next twelve years or until he left the Diocese. In 1819 he undertook a journey to raise funds for the General Theological Seminary which began instruction that year in New York City under the leadership of Bishop Hobart. The next year, by appointment of the House of Deputies, Kemper became a trustee of the institution. Meanwhile his ceaseless activity and recent sorrow began to affect his health; and again the Vestry

granted him leave of absence for six months (May, 1820,) and paid his salary in advance.

Before enjoying his leave of absence Kemper attended the General Convention of 1820, which met in May of that year in Philadelphia. In addition to being Chairman of the Committee on Rules of Order, he held the following offices: member of the Committee on the State of the Church, chairman of the Committee on Repeal of the First Canon of 1817, chairman of the Committee to make a collection of General Convention and Diocesan Journals and other documents bearing on the history of the Church, member of the Committee to provide funds for the General Convention, member of the committee to superintend the printing of the Journal and Pastoral Letter, trustee of the General Theological Seminary, and one of the Managers of the newly created "Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society in the United States, for Foreign and Domestic Missions."

The movement for the organization of a general missionary society had originated with the Pennsylvania delegation and the resolution had been offered by the Rev. George Boyd of that delegation. The Society was hastily and very imperfectly organized. The Bishops had been left out of it, as was discovered after the Convention adjourned. The special Convention of 1821 corrected this defect, but not some others; in particular, the Church herself was not yet the Missionary Society, the sense of mission residing in the apostolate was not yet realized, and the Society's work was conducted too independently of the Church. Nevertheless it was a beginning in the right direction and immediately throughout the East, auxiliaries to the Society, many of them composed of men, were formed in several dioceses. Interest in the Church's mission was slowly stirring, but the Church as a whole had not yet risen to a sense of her full responsibility.

Having returned from his vacation, restored in health, Kemper renewed his varied activities—parochial, diocesan and missionary. In the fall of 1821 he again married, this time a Miss Ann Relf, of a wealthy Philadelphia family. The bride having at her disposal a liberal allowance, they were able to live comfortably in their home on Fifth Street near Spruce, and there three children were born to them—Elizabeth Marius in 1824, Samuel (1827), and Lewis (1829).

Perpetually active, always filled with missionary zeal, recognized and trusted by the Church in its conventions, Kemper was placed on the Diocesan Committee to arrange for the visitation of vacant parishes by the neighboring clergy. Eighteen parishes, including White-marsh and Reading, were so provided that they could have the services of a clergyman quarterly. He himself visited Hamiltonville, thus

laying the foundations for the present University Church of St. Mary's, Hamilton Village, West Philadelphia.

By this time the Advancement Society had become very much restricted in its activity owing to lack of support. In the hope of increasing the membership, the annual subscription was reduced. It was becoming evident both in the Diocese of Pennsylvania and the Church at large that the missionary society as independently conceived was not the right instrument; that the Church herself through her apostolic ministry must undertake the Church's Mission. The bishops themselves were responsible and the very essence of the episcopal office was to be found in missions. But a decade was still to pass before this conception bore fruit. A step in this direction was now taken by the Church in Pennsylvania. In the Diocesan Convention of 1824, three-fourths of the Convention Fund (which was more than adequate) was appropriated to supply vacant parishes, and Kemper was made Chairman of the Missionary Committee, responsible for the expenditure of those funds.

In the Fall of that year (1824), Bishop White, then in his seventy-seventh year, and Kemper set out on what was the former's first missionary journey beyond the Alleghenies. Unfortunately it was not completed, but the fact that it was undertaken is one of great significance. Let us read the story in the Bishop's own words:

"On the 17th of October I began a journey expected to be of great length, for the consecration of a church in Lewistown, 156 miles from this city, and of sundry churches beyond the mountains; the Rev. Jackson Kemper being with me in the character of missionary from the Missionary Committee of the Convention. On our way on the 19th I preached and held confirmation in the city of Lancaster; and Mr. Kemper performed divine service and preached in the evening and in the evening on the 20th in the Borough of Harrisburg; as he also did on the evening of the next day, in the Borough of Mifflintown. On the forenoon of Saturday the 23d, I preached in the newly erected church in the Borough of Lewistown and Mr. Kemper preached in the afternoon and again in the evening. The next day I consecrated the said church, administering the rite of confirmation & the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper and preaching in the forenoon, Mr. Kemper performing divine service. In the afternoon Mr. Kemper performed divine service & preached.

"On the next morning we set off for the Borough of Huntingdon; but when we reached a short distance from Lewistown our progress was prevented by a fall from a carriage; which caused a simple fracture of my right wrist and several lacerations of my face. Owing to valuable medical assist-

ance gratuitously rendered to me, to the sympathy and good offices of many estimable inhabitants of the town, to the important attentions of my fellow-traveller and to the hastening to me of two members of my own family, I was enabled under the good providence of God to reach my own home on the 15th day from the fall. On the day before our setting off on our return, Mr. Kemper having notified his intention of divine service and a sermon which had also been his occupation twice on the preceding Sunday and some persons having regretted their not availing of themselves of the preceding opportunity of being confirmed, my wounds did not prevent my being again taken to church, my stay there of a few minutes & my again confirming. . . . On our way home, Mr. Kemper performed divine service & preached in Lancaster, morning & evening on Sun. Nov. 7th."

The following Spring (May 30, 1825,) Bishop White, accompanied by Kemper, set out again to undertake the tour which was frustrated in the Fall. In precisely five weeks, 830 miles were traversed. Two days were spent in crossing the mountains from Holydaysburg to Pittsburg. John Henry Hopkins, later Bishop of Vermont, was then rector there. Arriving on a Thursday evening, confirmation was on Friday. The new church edifice was consecrated on Sunday and an additional class confirmed. On these occasions 135 received the laying on of hands. Monday afternoon they left for Beaver, where they arrived Tuesday morning. They left Beaver the afternoon of the same day and were back in Pittsburg by Wednesday afternoon. Another class, the third in six days, was then presented by Mr. Hopkins. The next day, Thursday, the indefatigable missionaries left for Wheeling. Such is the record of the enthusiasm and ardour of the aged Bishop and his capable assistant.

In 1826 another extended trip was undertaken into the Beechwoods in the northeastern part of the State, a journey of 400 miles, from September 25th to October 11th.

The Diocese of Pennsylvania was plunged into a bitter contest over the election of an assistant Bishop in the years 1826 and 1827. The party strife and bickering over points of order which had come to characterize the Pennsylvania Convention were extremely distasteful to Kemper. So much so that he sought for an opportunity to transfer his activities to another diocese. He even refused an opportunity to go to Pittsburg because, while he would thus escape the city, he would still be in the same Convention. He waited five years. During this interval he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from his Alma Mater, Columbia College, in 1829.

At last, through Bishop Brownell of Connecticut, he was called to St. Paul's Church, Norwalk, one of the four larger and more flourish-

ing parishes in that State. With great regret his resignation as Assistant Minister was accepted by the United Churches of Philadelphia, June 1st, 1831. Within a year of his removal to Norwalk he suffered the grievous loss of his wife (1832), after eleven years of happy married life, leaving him with their three young children of the ages of eight, five and three years.

At the first convention of the Diocese of Connecticut which he attended, he conducted the opening service and was made a member of the Standing Committee. Later he became the Secretary of the Convention and Diocesan Trustee of the General Theological Seminary. In three years' time the communicant list of his parish increased fifty per cent, and several missions had been started.

In 1834, Kemper made a journey to Green Bay, Wisconsin, in company with the Rev. Dr. James Milnor, Rector of St. George's Church, New York, to investigate the mission there which was supported by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. The Mission School had been opened by the Rev. Richard F. Cadle and his sister, Sarah B. Cadle, in 1827. The Mission was popular with the Church but not with the Indians it was intended to help. The French, too, disliked the enterprise, because it was a Protestant mission, and because it did not accord with the fitness of things.

Tired out, with patience gone and health failing, Cadle wrote, June 16, 1832, to the Executive Committee of the Society, begging to be relieved "from a burden by which I am bowed down greatly." In October, the Committee induced him to continue his work on the condition of being more heartily supported by the Society.

On Christmas Eve, 1833, some of the Indian boys had been severely punished and two of them had taken the matter to court. A war in the newspaper followed, Cadle demanded vindication, and the Society's Executive Committee induced Kemper and Milnor to make an investigation on the spot.

Kemper left Norwalk July 3d for New York, where he was joined by Milnor. Journeying by boat to Albany, they there boarded a train for Schenectady, 15 miles distant, transferred to the stage for Buffalo, and, at the latter place, took passage for Green Bay on the "Michigan," a 470-ton boat with two engines of 80-horsepower, capable of making 12 miles per hour. After brief stops at Erie, Cleveland, Detroit and Mackinac Island, they reached Green Bay on July 16th. The cost of passage from Buffalo for each person, including meals, was \$25.00. The following excerpts from Kemper's Journal* are of value as indicating not only conditions, but the

*"Journal of an Episcopal Missionary's Tour to Green Bay, 1834." . . . Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, R. G. Thwaites, Editor; Vol. XIV, pp. 394-449; Madison, 1898.

qualities of mind and heart and judgment which Kemper was to carry into his Missionary Episcopate:

Met Mr. (Jean Baptiste) Laborde bro of Mrs. Douceman of the R. C. Mission, spoke in plainest terms of the influence of the traders . . . in preventing children from coming to it . . . One of the little girls who has been at the school from the beginning goes to day & came to bid us good bye. She spoke English well but with a foreign, I wld say, a french accent. She is only 12 now, but her Mother who is married again, has a young infant & requires her at home. She leaves here two bros. The girls appear kind and affec(tionate) to each other & attached to their teachers. If we give up this school we not only afford a triumph to its enemies the traders & the R C but we abandon a station of great importance. Is it nothing to have rescued more than 200 ch(ildren) from degradation & vice & ignorance & death—to teach them the arts & feelings of civilized life and the principles of the Gospel? . . . Many of these chld are real Inds born in our ch, but who wld be ignorant of knowledge & our language were it not for this school. And many born heathen exhibit by their conduct & writings an evidence of the Gospel upon their souls. Here, in this mission the Ch is exerting herself & has an opportunity of doing good to heathen. If we give up this, we abandon the only post we have among the heathen. We have more Indian chld here than they have at Macanaw—& the schools of the ch(urch) Miss(ionary) Soc(iety) among the N W Indians are principally composed of the children of white traders. Some of the chld here in 2 yrs have in addition to a knowledge of the language acquired as much school information i. e. made as much progress in spelling, reading, writing, composition, geography, grammar & arithmetic as chld of similar age in the district schools of Conn(ecticut).

Mr. Cadle this morning submitted to our perusal many papers relative to his trials & duties. He has been with a meek & devoted spirit most faithful to all his duties—& his sister has laboured beyond her strength—& they both assure us that for the last 6 mos no persons could be more interested in the welfare of the Mission & ready to spend & be spent in its service than Mr. Gregory & Miss Crawford.* But Mr. C.'s (Cadle's) feelings are too sensitive—we require a man of sterner stuff than he is made of to be at the head of the Mission.

. . . There is much to admire in the school—but it is scarcely comfortable to its inmates—it has been very expensive—the constant cry from Phila has been *more economy*, & in order to obey, & being never in fact beforehand but constantly obliged to get not only goods but money from

*Almon Gregory and Sarah Crawford, teachers at the mission.

the store—the whole economy has been so frugal as to be scarcely comfortable. The barn is good but there is nothing in it—they buy flour & pork by the single barrel—they have not had for weeks any fresh meat. They have no molasses, no indian meal, & but little milk. Much has been done even with the farm, but it is evidently requisite to have a handsome sum of money to be laid out at once for the Mission before it can become comfortable & economical.

(July) 28. Hope deferred makes the heart sick. But I will not murmur or repine. No boat as yet, one however it is supposed will appear today or tomorrow. I long most anxiously to see my little ones—& I desire to say thy will be done. We are detained here I trust for beneficial purposes. Yesterday 27 I officiated in M(orning) at fort—aft(ernoon) at Navarino & 5 oc(lock) at Mission. The band of music, the flags around the wall, the dress & orderly appearance of the soldiers gave a very imposing appearance. The general was present but not his lady who was detained by the sickness of a child.

. . . Dr M(ilnor) & myself took our dinner with Mr. Whitney. He offers to paint the Mission a dark colour like his own house in wh he is now lodging, inside & out, for 350 dollars—will subscribe ten & thinks the Bay people wld give 100.

Mr. Ellis* has returned from surveying, & gives a bad report of the musquitoes. His story of the intended pamphlet—refused admittance in his paper—in Detroit paper—50 dolls paid to Detroit editor—As first offered to him it contained the basest & most malignant insinuations. Is daily expected from D—† thinks it will almost destroy Mr C(adle). Conversed freely with Mr Beall‡ after the 3d service—stated the evidence of the boys (the disgrace attached to a crop arises from the military custom).

The assertion of Pouquette in conversation with Mr. C(adle) Mr C almost crazy when informed of Conduct of boys—left the whipping pretty much to judgment of assistants. Mr C violent passions—wished Smith to commence a suit—instigated the paper controversy, persuaded Beall to write. The Mission might be better managed & at 1/3 less—the buildings shd have cost 1/3 less. Smith cleared 1100, Olds 800 (dollars). Mr C(adle) too honourable & not able to contend with crafty men. The destitution of horses, carriage, food &c—the payment sometimes of 20 dolls a barrel for pork, all wrong. Mr B's wife speaks highly of Mr Garvin's qualities. Mr B, highest opinion of integrity, purity

*Andrew G. Ellis had been an assistant at the Mission. At this time, he was proprietor of the Green Bay "Intelligencer."

†From documents published, Joseph Dickinson appears to have been the author of this pamphlet attack on Cadle.

‡Samuel W. Beall was one of the vestrymen of Christ Church parish at Green Bay.

& piety of Mr C—at same time is sensible of his faults, wishes this conversation to be secret. Mr B thinks Dr M(ilynor) and myself shd investigate the late affair.

I am this morning (28) much fatigued with preaching, heat, mosquitoes &c. We are apparently to have another warm day. My neck, ears, legs & body yet show marks of the Grand Kakalin expedition. . . .

29. (July). Big Wave an old chief of the Menominees with a few other Menos & 2 Chippeways from Sturgeon Bay, came to the house with Col Boyd* & Richard Prickett U. S. Interpreter. Dr M(ilynor) addressed them concerning the school & the advantages of sending their chld to it & ag(ainst) intemperance. Big Wave with a regimental coat & a large medal of Washington was the principal speaker on the other side. The chiefs seated themselves on the floor evidently not knowing the use of chairs, & were much attracted by the clock. B(ig) W(ave) & 2 others well dressed . . . & have abandoned drunkenness. One poor fellow, said to drink, & badly dressed, with his face painted black, was eloquent & affected. They promised their endeavours to persuade their people to send their children—acknowledged the advantages of education—alluded to our differen(ce) of colour as an intimation from the Alm(igh)ty that we were designed for different stations & employments—blamed the whites for the introduction of whiskey wh is destroying the Indians & which they cannot resist—& said that the first whites they were acquainted with did not sell them rum (the french)—the British sold them some but not much—but the Amers will sell it to them as long as they have any furs. Dr M gave them from the store room some red flannel & cotton &c as presents—we shook hands, & separated. Prickett the Inter(preter) was taken a prisoner when a boy 14 yrs old in what is now called Green County, Penn & taken to the present Chilicothe, Ohio, by the Stockbridges. He in time found his way to Mac & was 20 yrs in fur com(pany). Has gone from (Grand) Portage of Lake Superior to Montreal in bark canoe in 6 days, 14 rowers, bark canoe, carrying 3 tons. Is said to be a boaster—married first a Chip & then a Menom. Living near Col Boyd's, like an Indian.

Mr C(adle) stated to me that his own taste & judgment wld have led him to settle himself as a Miss^y in the midst of the Indians, but that here he had been obliged to act in obedience of orders,—the plan of the school, its location &c were settled by the Ex(ecutive) Com(mittee).

28 A long visit from Mr Beall. He is anxious we shd enter into a scrutiny of the late affair, thinks the honor of the Mission & the credit of Mr C demands it. It is known that Mr C demanded an investigation; if we go away without holding one it will be said by the R. C. that we were

*Col. George Boyd, U. S. Indian Agent at Green Bay.

afraid to do so. Dr M(ilnor) on the contrary says we have no authority to enter into an impartial inquiry, to summon witnesses &c—that we ought to let the subject sleep if possible as it is too delicate for public discussion—that we have the full & decided opinion of all the respectable inhabitants of the excellency of Mr C's character & the correctness of the punishment, & that the whole affair is the effect of malignity, & ingratitude. . . . Nothing but necessity shd compel us to bring it before the public—for then it will be seen acc(ording) to the rules of the house, the boys were too old to be whipped & that the cutting off the hair was not authorized—& some wld say if there had been a teacher sleeping in the room with the chld, as there ought to have been, this sad affair cld not have happened. Mr C asserts, justly I think, that with respect to the punishment, there was no provision in the laws for such a crime, it was not to be thot of, & was therefore acc(ording) to the right of every parent (as he viewed himself) or master, to be punished in an unusual way—I think that the statement of the assistants Gregory, Smith & Groom who denounced the crime & punished it—& of Beall and others who were present shd be put on paper.

This mornng 5 Oneida boys ran away. One of whom had run away twice before since we have been here. We want these Oneidas because they are full bloods, & yet it will not I think do to go in pursuit of them every time. Ought we not to threaten they shall not come back—or at least write to the Chiefs & solicit their interference to induce the parents when they run home to whip them & send them immediately back.

Col. Boyd thinks the sickly appearance of many of the children is owing to the salt pork of wh they almost live.

Mr. Groom goes today with two hired men & one of the boys near to the little Kakalin about 9 miles off to cut hay from an Oneida prairie, permission having been obtained from the Chfs for that purpose.

Cobus Hill brot to day the Oneida P. B. (Prayer Book) to be reprinted in N York. Dr. M promised his aid. I will propose this plan to Bp O(nderdonk) for his two C(ommon) P(rayer) Book Soct—offer a premium of say 500 dolls for the best translation of the whole P B in the Oneida—& print an edition of the best translation that is offered.

Spent aft & took tea at Col. B. with Mr C. Col agrees in the impropriety of further investigation, & thinks the testimonial signed by himself & others* sufficient to cover the whole ground—will make exertions to collect the Menos

**This appeared in the Green Bay "Intelligencer" for February 19, 1834, and was signed by Col. Boyd, the Indian Agent, General Brooke and six other Army Officers and twelve other citizens of the town. It stated their "entire approval of his conduct" and bore "testimony to the zeal and unremitting labor with which Mr. Cadle has at all times during the term of his agency in this establishment discharged his arduous and irksome duties."*

of the neighbourhood tomorrow at 10 oc(lock) at the Mission for Dr M. to address—is willing to add something to Mr. C's statement conc(erning) the benefits wh have resulted from the school.

A little Menomonee boy who had been wandering about the house with his parents came to school to day as a day scholar—his mother cannot part with him at night. He will probably however get all his meals here. A suit of clothes was given him & he was sent behind the barn, he soon appeared with the clothes on & the old blanket wrapt around him. This I believe is the boy who said a few days since in answer to Mr Labord's question Why he did not come to the school, That there they whipt too much.

. Conversed with Ellis concerning the Mission, Mr C, Mr. Suydam and the late difficulties. Mr C has laboured most faithfully, but perhaps not exactly calculated for the difficulties of the station.

21. The Dr or myself lead in mornng & even(ing) worship in the fam(ily). We assemble in school house at 6 & at 7½. The Psalter, a hymn & then prayers, principally from Cotterill. I am looking over the papers we brot, the laws, & the list of students—Dr M is preparing the report.

. The mornng of this day before we left the Mission was devoted to an examination of the girls school. It was very satisfactory. Girls who have been here two yrs only & who when they came knew not a word of English or a letter now equal in school learning girls of the same age in our District Schools in Conn. Some recited Murrays Eng Grammar, Olneys Geo(graphy), Colburns Arith—read, spelled & wrote well. They appear obedient to Mr. Crawford & affectionate to each other.

We must buy some books for those children who have washed for us &c.

22. We assembled in ch(urch) at 10 oc. The people pressed to it until all seats were occupied & more benches had to be brot in. The men on one side the women on the other. About 10 infants in their peculiar cradles were kept in excellent order. Cobus Hill read part of the Service in Mohawk, & hymns in that language were sung from books prepared by Methodists. The whole audience quiet & very solemn in their deportment. Mr C(adle) read Com(munion) Ser(vice)—Dr. M(ilnor) preached—then I said a few words from C H's (Cobus Hill's) reading desk on Lord's Supper—what we said was interpreted sentence by sentence by John Smith, born among them, but apparently the son of a negro by an Indian woman. John interpreted boldly but we fear not correctly. The Lords Supper was then adm(inistered) to 69—say 3 Chi(ldren), 3 visitors (Dr S, Mr Suydam & Methodist School teacher) & ten Methodists, leaving 53 Com(municants) of the ch. After the Com(munion) Dr M read Bp O(nderdonk)'s letter & addressed

the Os (Oneidas) on various subjects & particularly Temperance. Between one & two we went to the Parsonage, examining by the way the Cradles, one of wh had a profusion of silk shawls &c. The 9 chiefs came to us & delivered an address as an answer to Bp O's letter &c wh address was very poorly interpreted by Smith. To this Dr. M replied. Hill then thro Smith gave us an acc(ount) of the Coms (?) & of a temperance Socty (See report) and we all 8 chiefs C Hill, & Methodist teacher sat down to dinner consisting of 2 dishes of pork & beans, 2 chicken pies, squashes, potatoes, peas & rice pudding afterwards. Rather a deficiency of seats, spoons & tumblers—but upon the whole did admirably. Shook hands aff(ectionate)ly with all & started at 5 as we came.

23. . . . In the morning of this day we ex(amin)ed the school of the boys—were gratified—some passed—many ac(quainted) with Geogra(phy)—many wrote—but five of the present in arith—but boys have gone thro here with Dabolls & have commenced surveying, Nat Philoso &c. Dr. M ex(amin)ed in the Cat(echism). None have been sent away—but their friends were requested to take them. Presumptive evidence that the house was set on fire by some of those who were punished.

25. Wrote a letter to Mrs. Relf* wh goes of course by Galena. I hope I will get home before it—for it may be weeks in going—yet by writing I relieve at least for the time my anxiety about my precious ones at home. . . .

30. Wrote up journal this morning. Examined the pupils of the girls school upon the ch(urch) cat(echism), Scrip(ture), & hymns—& was much gratified. . . .

31. No schooner in sight now, the report of yesterday referred to a boat going to a Mill. It is now 4 weeks since I left my own dear home & precious children. About this time I expected to be there again, & here I am at the farthest distance from Norwalk, with no prospect for more than a fortnight yet of returning! God's will be done. Dr M is going on with his report. . . .

Pishe was considered all but dying yesterday—but is now better. She will not talk about religion but assents to proper questions. She is of course childish & occasionally fretful. . . . I have received from Miss Cadle a little indian cradle &c for Lill†, & a bundle of bark, a canoe & an indian hat. . . . The 39 scholar admitted as a boarder into the school 13 Jan'y 1831 a full menominee, Makkemetas was named Jackson Kemper. His fathers name was Kakononequut. He was to be supported for 6 years. He deserted Oct 4, 1831.

Mr. Cadles donations to the Mission to June 2d 1834 including 2 yrs salary (\$400 per ann) amount to \$1087.47½.

*His wife's mother, who was taking care of his children.

†Pet name for his daughter, Elizabeth, then aged 10.

The day after we came here we drew the following orders.
viz. for

Almon Gregory for 6 mos to May 7/34.....	\$125
Sarah Crawford do April 16/34.....	75
Leonard Groom do do 24/34.....	150
John Smith in full at rate of \$250 per ann.....	66.70

. . . Among other papers Mr C has shown me one containing a statement of the boarding children admitted into the school by Roman Catholic parents or guardians & who have been gratuitously taught, clothed & supported. The support of a child is estimated at \$40 per ann, clothing 20, instruction 8—no charge for medical attendance or buildings. The period included is from Oct. 25-29 to Janu 15-34. The result is, 148 years, 11 mos & 10 days at rate of \$68 per ann=\$10,128 22-100.

. . . Yesterday I thought & dreamt much of home & of Annest.* How great the loss! How vivid the recollection! Mr. Ellis spoke of her beauty & appearance & said she was the most youthful woman to be the mother of children he had ever met with.

. . . I asked Mr. Beall to put on paper his recollections of Mr. Cadle's trial. This I consider a necessary caution against accidents.

I have finished reading this day Gutzlaff's voyages along the coast of china p. p. 332. My want of facility in acquiring languages, my actual ignorance of every language except my own, my young & motherless children, my age—would it appears to me unfit me for the important & sacred station of being at the head of a Mission to china. I must write to Mr E. Newton† to this effect. The door apparently opening is wonderful. G(utzlaff) considers the inhabitants of China at 362 Millions 1/3 of the people of the earth.

3. Dr M. complaining, will not leave the mission today. He has devoted himself for some days past to the report, & finished it yesterday. Yesterday was exceedingly sultry—today it will probably be as much so—I have three services before me.

5. Aug tuesday 11 oc a.m. I am now in Lake Michigan on board the Sheldon Thompson steam boat on my way home. God be praised! Let me bring up my journal to the present. . . . There has been today a melancholy display of Indians in Nav(arino). Many wild Menominees

*A pet name for his deceased wife.

†Mr. Edward A. Newton, a layman of Massachusetts, prominent in the General Conventions and ardent in the missionary cause. In 1833 he offered to be one of forty to give \$100 each to pay an indebtedness upon the buildings at Green Bay, which should be a token of gratitude to Bishop White. In May, 1834, he again came forward with a motion, "That the Board establish a Mission in China, as soon as suitable missionary or missionaries can be found to occupy such station." Undoubtedly, in view of his zeal for this project, he had sounded Kemper out as to the possibility of his heading such a Mission. Here in Kemper's Journal we have his answer and the reasons for it.

fantastically dressed were about—but the Oneidas who have just arrived* were met most imprudently by their friends from Duck Creek & a scene of great intoxication and degradation ensued. The new comers were considerably civilized—had been industrious and frugal at home, & some had brot with them considerable sums of money i. e. a few hundred dollars. They were well, prettily, & neatly dressed—the women with men's hats ornamented with ribbons &c. But whiskey was cheap & plenty—and too many fell victims to its direful effects. I saw a man holding an infant in a cradle knock his wife prostrate twice—others rolling in the sand unable to rise. The whiskey was generally got I suppose from the shanties near Smiths. Crawford came down with the intention of hastening their departure to Duck Creek. They are all or most all professing Methodists. Happy wld it have been for them could they have been induced to travel with their goods today instead of spending the day in this awful manner. Not one at ch—Crawford attended all my services. 400 (dollars) were paid for the transportation or carrying of 110 Oneidas (Men, women & chld) from Buffalo to G(reen) B(ay). . . . There is by a law of the Territory a fine of 200 dolls for selling ardent spirits to Indians—and yet it cannot be enforced for magistrates, traders & it is said all the french besides others will sell to them—and consequently no jury would convict a man of this crime. . . .

. . . Milnor read our report to the Mission family—all, & particularly C(adle) & his sister appeared to approve of it.

. . . All parties appear to be unanimous in the opinion that the Indians are injured on all sides. The government, the army, the traders, the agents (& the Missionaries to a certain extent) accuse each other. Many agents appear to prey upon them & have grown rich. The Government forces them to give up land wh it the Gov does not want. Some conscientious officers assert that traders have come within musket shot of their forts & sold without reserve, & that they cannot obtain from Gov the authority necessary to repress their efforts & drive the traders away. . . .

All unknowing, Mr. Kemper was experiencing at first hand such problems as he would have to deal with during his Episcopate of thirty-five years. It has not been possible to quote all of his Journal on this tour, filled as it is with interesting events and people whom he met along the way. But enough has been given to show the quality of his mind—his keen observation, his passion for the facts, his standards of judgment. And all sorts and conditions of men

*A part of the Oneidas of New York, who were shipped to Wisconsin by the general government.

talked readily with him, finding in him a kindly and sympathetic friend. From a fur trader of thirty years experience—Rolet—he heard on the return trip to Buffalo a great deal about the Sioux Indians, who also were to be within his jurisdiction before fifteen months had passed. Without storm or accident, he reached Buffalo on August 9th and Norwalk on the 16th, glad to be once more in his own home with his beloved children.

From this period a brief letter has come down to us* which is very revealing. The recipient is unknown, probably some bookseller who forwarded some literature to be put on sale at a parish bazaar:

Norwalk, 11 Jan'y 1834

My dear Sir

Hoping to be in New York on the 13th inst. I kept the books which remained after the fair intending to take them with me & thus save some expense. But the sickness of some of my parishioners particularly the mother of your neighbour Mr. Jarvis, will prevent me from leaving here for some time. I shall therefore send the boxes to the steam boat on Monday Morning. The sales were as great as I expected. Had you known the people you would not have sent as many books as you did. And by the bye they were not packed quite as well as they ought to have been. I am two miles from the landing—& Sangatuck is three miles beyond me. I have placed in the boxes two of the three copies of Mant which remained on hand. The other copy, with all the balances I hope to give you in a few days. I return two of the books you sent me—as it was not Paley but Gisbornes answer to Paley—& not Mrs. Somerville's Preliminary Discourse to her work on the Heavens, but the work itself, that I wanted.

In haste dear Sir Truly Yrs.

Jackson Kemper.

Here we read the style of a man of action, correct, concise, abbreviated. Particular and careful of little details and economical in very little ways; well acquainted with his people, he did not expect over much; faithful to his pastoral trust, he would not leave his parish while there was a sick woman to care for; at all times he was continuing his theological studies and persuading others to become interested in such studies. This was the kind of man—a faithful pastor, a studious priest, a lover of people and of adventure for Christ—whom the Church needed and whom she chose to become the Apostle of the Northwest.

**Now in the possession of William Ives Rutter, Jr., of Philadelphia.*

A TURNING POINT: THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1835

By Walter Herbert Stowe

ANYONE reading some of the older histories of the American Episcopal Church would never suppose that the General Convention of 1835 was a turning point in this Church's history and that it ushered in the third epoch of its independent existence. Yet a little reflection on the results which flowed from it clearly reveals that if the period from 1790 to 1811 was one of "suspended animation," and if the period from 1811 to 1835 was one of strengthening the stakes, the era beginning with 1835 was one of lengthening the cords.

The needs and demands of the rapidly growing West dominated every major problem facing this convention. In this, ecclesiastical concerns were but paralleling the political, economic and social affairs of the nation. In 1835 the West was in the saddle of national politics, holding the balance of power between the capitalistic North-east and the planting South. Andrew Jackson, idol of the frontier, was nearing the end of his second term. The political issues of his administration were the tariff, nullification, the Bank, internal improvements and the disposal of western lands. The solution of these questions reflected largely the wishes of the farmers, mechanics and laborers of the country with Jackson as their Sir Galahad. Coupled with these problems or flowing from them, revolutionary changes in transportation were coming to pass. The Erie Canal was already in operation. Baltimore, alarmed at the diversion of trade which the canal threatened, chartered the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad which, in 1830, had reached fourteen miles west of Baltimore and in the same year experimented successfully with "Tom Thumb," the first steam locomotive. It was the beginning of a development which was to blanket the country from East to West with a network of railroads.

THE GREAT MIGRATION

The settlement of the West was one of the greatest migrations of history. Even before the end of the War of Independence, people

were moving over the mountains. The first general census of 1790 found 4,000,000 people in the United States, of whom five per cent, or about 200,000, were living west of the mountains. The following table will indicate how rapid was the subsequent growth:

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
New York.....	340,120	589,051	959,049	1,372,812	1,918,608	2,428,921
Pennsylvania..	434,373	602,365	810,091	1,049,458	1,348,233	1,724,033
Ohio.....		45,365	230,760	581,434	937,903	1,519,467
Indiana.....		5,641	24,520	147,178	343,031	685,866
Illinois.....			12,282	55,211	157,445	476,183
Michigan.....			4,762	8,896	31,639	212,267
Missouri.....			19,783	66,586	140,455	383,702
Kentucky.....	73,677	220,955	406,511	564,317	687,917	779,828
Tennessee....	35,691	105,602	261,727	422,823	681,904	829,210
Alabama.....				127,901	309,527	590,756
Mississippi....		8,850	40,352	75,448	136,621	375,651
Louisiana.....			76,556	153,407	215,739	352,411

From 1790 to 1808, the heaviest emigration was from Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas into Kentucky and Tennessee, because the hard times following the war continued in the South, whereas in the North the movement was checked by the return of better times due to the restoration of credit and the renewal of the West Indian trade. As a result, Kentucky was admitted into the Union as a State in 1792, Tennessee in 1796, and Ohio in 1802.

Beginning with the passage of the Embargo in 1808, the steady stream of the westward movement became a flood from out of the North as well as the South. Nothing like it had ever been seen before and it continued with little interruption until the return of better times in the East about 1820.

The older States, except New York and Pennsylvania, became alarmed at the great loss of population and the fourth census (1820) did not calm their fears. New York had become the most populous state in the Union, Ohio ranked fifth, and Kentucky sixth. In 1821 the total number of states was twenty-five, of which twelve were new; and of the twelve new states, ten were west of the Alleghanies.

PERSONNEL OF THE CONVENTION

When, on August 19, 1835, the General Convention convened in Philadelphia, the westward tide showed no signs of ebbing. The four major problems demanding action were essentially western in their nature. First, Illinois, without waiting to be admitted as a diocese, had elected a resigned bishop as its diocesan—Philander Chase. Second, the Diocese of New York, truly an empire now due to the filling up of its western territory, had grown beyond the administrative reach of a single bishop and division was imperative.

Third, the West, without the means of support, was demanding more bishops. Fourth, the missionary organization was sadly defective and utterly unable to meet its responsibilities.

Who were the men delegated to solve these problems? The House of Bishops had fourteen in attendance. The Nestor of the House was of course William White, first Bishop of Pennsylvania and Presiding Bishop. He was now eighty-seven years of age and fifty years before (then a Presbyterian), he had been President of the *first* General Convention of 1785, and was the sole survivor of that convention. First Presiding Bishop in the great Convention of 1789, he held that office in fifteen other General Conventions, and that continuously after 1795. The Convention of 1835 was destined to be his last, for he died July 17, 1836.

The other bishops were: A. V. Griswold of the Eastern Diocese, Richard Channing Moore of Virginia, Philander Chase of Illinois, Thomas C. Brownell of Connecticut, Henry U. Onderdonk of Pennsylvania, William Meade of Virginia, William M. Stone of Maryland, Benjamin T. Onderdonk of New York, John Henry Hopkins of Vermont, Benjamin B. Smith of Kentucky, Charles P. McIlvaine of Ohio, George Washington Doane of New Jersey, and James Hervey Otey of Tennessee.

The House of Deputies was composed of sixty-three clerical and fifty-one lay deputies. The President was the Rev. William E. Wyatt, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore. Elected President of the House of Deputies in 1829, he held that office continuously for eight conventions, including that of 1850.

Eight of the clerical deputies were destined for the Episcopate, and one, Francis L. Hawks of New York, was elected at this convention First Bishop of the Southwest, but declined. Christopher E. Gadsden of South Carolina later became Fourth Bishop of South Carolina (1840-1852); Nicholas H. Cobbs of Virginia, First Bishop of Alabama (1844-1861); Carlton Chase of Vermont, Second Bishop of New Hampshire (1844-1870); George Upfold of Pennsylvania, First Diocesan of Indiana (1849-1872); Samuel Bowman of Pennsylvania, Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania (1858-1861); Leonidas Polk of Tennessee, First Bishop of the Southwest, 1838, and First Diocesan of Louisiana (1841-1864); Thomas F. Davis of North Carolina, Fifth Bishop of South Carolina (1853-1871); John Johns of Maryland, Fourth Bishop of Virginia (1842-1876); and Samuel A. McCoskry, not a member of the House but Assistant Secretary, First Bishop of Michigan (1836-1878). The Secretary of the House, the Rev. Henry Anthon, was an Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, New York, and a lecturer in the General Theological Seminary.

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH

The Report of the State of the Church submitted to the House of Bishops by the House of Deputies comprises thirty pages of the Convention Journal. It is illuminating and dominantly optimistic. In the nineteen dioceses the clergy numbered 763, an increase of 171 over 1832, and the communicants 36,416, an increase of 5,477 for the triennium. One hundred and twenty-three churches had been consecrated, compared with 85 reported the previous triennium. Ordinations totaled 333, of whom 197 were deacons and 136 priests, an increase of 122. Candidates for Orders numbered 165, an increase of 31. Confirmations for some reason showed a loss—10,277 in 1835, compared with 10,836 in 1832.

The Church in New England, except Connecticut and Vermont, was included in the Eastern Diocese, the only federated diocese the American Church has ever had. Maine reported 5 ministers, 5 churches, 167 communicants, and an urgent need of clergy in the cities of Portland, Bangor and Augusta. New Hampshire listed 9 congregations, 6 clergy and 380 communicants. Massachusetts, with its 37 parishes, 38 ministers and 1,783 communicants, felt "a peculiar cause of thanksgiving in the apparent advance of true godliness with the distinctive principles of the Church, and in the peace and harmony which prevails in her parishes and her councils." In Rhode Island "the progress of the Church since the last General Convention cannot fail to awaken gratitude." The congregations had doubled from 8 to 16 and the clergy had increased from 10 to 18, of whom 9 were missionaries. Five church edifices had been built and one was building; the communicants numbered 1,340, and the record of ordinations was 10 deacons and 5 presbyters. "The two churches in Providence are each educating a young man for the ministry; together they sustain a missionary in Illinois; and they have now at their disposal the means to support an additional missionary in their own State. . . . The increased activity and success of the Church in this State is to be ascribed, under God, to the *vision and co-operation of the clergy in the missionary cause.*"

In Vermont, "since the consecration of its Bishop at the last General Convention, the Church in this Diocese has gained much strength," but there was a "lamentable want of ministers." The Diocese had 18 clergy, 30 organized parishes, 1,000 communicants, 6 churches consecrated since 1832, 7 deacons and 7 priests ordained.

Connecticut reported steady progress, the number of the clergy having increased from 65 to 80, the communicants numbering 5,082, 16 new parishes had been organized, 11 churches consecrated, 16

deacons and 13 priests had been ordained in the triennium, and there were 20 candidates for Holy Orders. The prosperity of the Church was ascribed to the diligence of the clergy in Bible classes, weekly lectures, Sunday School instruction, and an awakened interest in missions. Washington (Trinity) College, "the first Episcopal college established in this country," was continuing to supply the ranks of the ministry.

New York had made the most amazing progress of all. The State and the Church had profited by the western migration, the population of the former being well over 2,000,000 in 1835. The number of clergy had jumped from 128 in 1829 to 161 in 1832, and now (1835) totaled 194. Parishes had increased in six years from 163 to 214. Communicants had increased seventy-five per cent, from 5,556 in 1829 to 9,738 in 1835. Baptisms and confirmations for the three preceding years were many, 6,082 of the former and 2,487 of the latter. Forty churches had been consecrated during the triennium; 54 deacons and 32 priests had been ordained; the Diocese had 47 candidates for Holy Orders, 61 missionaries employed by the Diocese, and 7,616 Sunday School scholars. The report added: "There has been no period in the past history of the Diocese when it has been more prosperous."

New Jersey, not possessing unsettled lands as did New York and Pennsylvania, enjoyed a much slower growth than its neighbors. In 1830, with 320,823 people, it was not much larger than Alabama, less than Indiana, one-half that of Kentucky or Tennessee, and one-third that of Ohio. The Diocese, which included the whole state, had 32 clergy, an increase of seventy-five per cent since 1832; 35 organized parishes, and 908 communicants. Yet 516 had been confirmed during the triennium and that was over twice the number reported for any previous three-year period. The missionary spirit was aroused and the receipts for missions during the previous year were nearly equal to the total received in the preceding seven years. Four parishes had been organized and church building was extensive.

Pennsylvania, blessed with two bishops and 77 other ministers, reported 86 parishes (14 more than in 1832); 27 candidates for Holy Orders (of whom 11 were in the General Theological Seminary); 12 new churches received into union with the Diocesan Convention; 17 churches consecrated and 7 enlarged and improved; 3,623 communicants, 90 Sunday Schools, 658 teachers, 4,953 pupils, and "abundant cause for thankfulness."

Delaware was described as in a "condition of advancing prosperity" with 6 clergymen but no bishop; 355 communicants and 610 catechumens; and possessing "evidences of the presence of that

quickeningspirit which is awakening the American Church to vigorous action in the Redeemer's Cause."

In Maryland, "nothing had transpired requiring special note," although the population of Baltimore had doubled without the addition of a single new Episcopal Church. The Diocese had 66 clergymen but needed more and was having difficulty in securing a sufficient number. There were 3,006 communicants and 4 missionaries employed by the Diocesan Missionary Society.

In Virginia, "the Church was steadily improving," its borders gradually extending, and most of the old parishes had been revived. There were 71 ministers, an increase of 16 since 1832, and 3,500 communicants; 14 new churches had been consecrated; 46 deacons and 22 priests had been ordained, and the Diocese had 19 candidates for the ministry. The Theological Seminary of Virginia had "not disappointed expectations," two buildings with accommodations for 60 students had been completed, and that number had attended during the previous three years, of which number 36 had been ordained. The Church in Virginia was giving "special regard to the spiritual necessities of the colored population." *The Southern Churchman* had in that very year begun its first hundred years.

North Carolina had "peculiar grounds of anxiety" in the illness of Bishop Ives, who was "in Europe in the pursuit of health." The Diocese had 23 clergy and 1,150 communicants. Since 1832, 5 new churches had been consecrated, 4 others were being built, and ordinations totaled 7 deacons and 7 priests. A school had been established with strong hopes for its future. Congregations of colored people had been organized in most of the parishes and they received regular ministrations from the clergy.

South Carolina reported 38 organized congregations, 6 being without ministers; 43 clergy, an increase of 7 over 1832; 5 churches consecrated and 2 ready for consecration; 2,226 communicants, of whom 507 were colored. The Church had suffered by the rapid emigration from the state and from the loss by fire of the venerable St. Philip's Church building and St. Stephen's Chapel. The report was especially laudable in that "increasing attention was being shown to the Christianizing of slaves," the religious and charitable societies were active and doing efficient work, and Sunday Schools were operating in 21 churches with 213 teachers and 1,853 scholars, of whom 787 were colored. *The Gospel Messenger*, one of the oldest monthly periodicals, was still conducted by ministers of the Church.

Georgia had 6 clergymen, 5 congregations, 160 families, 264 communicants, 27 Sunday School teachers, 170 scholars, and one candidate for Holy Orders. The "rubrics and canons were punctually

observed" and they were praying for a bishop, which prayer was not to be granted for six more years.

"In regard to the state of the Diocese of Ohio, it is one of steady growth and unexampled promise." The clergy numbered 31; parishes, 46; communicants, 1,164; and Sunday School scholars, 2,600. The increase in the clergy roll was 14 and that of the parishes 6. Nine missionaries were employed by the Diocesan Missionary Society and three by the General Missionary Society. A comparatively new and western diocese, it could boast of 11 candidates for Holy Orders and 10 of these were in Kenyon College. Eleven churches had been consecrated, 6 were ready for consecration, and 10 were in progress of building or about to be commenced. Both the Theological Seminary and Kenyon College had gained in organization and equipment. Some \$40,000 had been recently expended in various improvements. "Laborers only are needed, under God, speedily to build up congregations, and establish permanently the principles and usages of primitive Christianity."

Kentucky was especially happy over its prospect. Since 1832, the number of clergy had increased from 9 to 14; there were 7 organized parishes; 265 communicants; 4 candidates for Holy Orders; 9 theological students; 2 churches in course of erection and preparations were being made for 2 others. Kentucky also had its theological seminary with a "most eligible range of buildings in the city of Lexington." The Bishop had called the attention of the clergy to the spiritual condition of the colored population and the importance of their adequate religious instruction. When the clergy took him at his word, the Mayor of Lexington requested them "to desist from such a dangerous proceeding" as to teach slaves to *read*. They might be mobbed! The clergy therefore adopted the method of conveying religious instruction to the colored people by means of pictures! Where there is a will, there is a way!

Mississippi, without a bishop, had been visited the preceding winter by Bishop Otey of Tennessee. He had confirmed 40 at Trinity Church, Natchez, and reported a grievous want of ministers.

Tennessee was now completely organized by the consecration of James Hervey Otey as Bishop on January 14, 1834. The 14 congregations represented an increase of 5 since 1832. The clergy roll consisted of the Bishop, 6 presbyters and 6 deacons. Leonidas Polk was one of the presbyters. One church had been consecrated, another was ready, and a third was being erected. Wisely and courageously the parishes had freed the Bishop of parochial ties and supported him by an assessment upon themselves. They also felt that their

prospects were encouraging, but they also sorely needed ministers; and a seminary seemed essential to recruit and train them.

Alabama had had a tremendous increase of population from 127,901 in 1820 to 309,527 in 1830; in 1835 it was probably 400,000. They boasted of the "fertility of the soil, and the salubrity of its climate" and protested the "erroneous opinion" prevailing in the North and East "that the unhealthy climates of the Southern States render them literally graveyards." The Church in Alabama had 7 parishes, 3 clergymen, 61 communicants, and 3 Sunday Schools. Bishop Brownell of Connecticut had visited the Diocese, presided at the Diocesan Convention at Tuscaloosa January 19, 1835, consecrated the local church and confirmed, and had visited the Mobile parish and confirmed. Two new churches had been admitted into union with the Convention and two others organized. Two clergymen had been received and two had left!

Michigan was organized as a diocese in 1832 and in May, 1834, placed itself under the supervision of the Bishop of Ohio. He had made one visitation and confirmed in St. Paul's Church, Detroit; St. Peter's, Tecumseh; and Trinity, Monroe. At the Diocesan Convention of June, 1835, the Rev. Henry J. Whitehouse, Rector of St. Luke's Church, Rochester, New York (and later Second Bishop of Illinois: 1851-1874), was elected Bishop of Michigan, but he declined. The report enumerated 8 clergymen, 10 organized parishes, and about 200 communicants. Three church buildings existed and a fourth was under way.

The Church in Illinois had organized itself at a Convention in Peoria, March 9, 1835, and had elected Philander Chase, who in 1831 had resigned as Bishop of Ohio, as Bishop of the new diocese. At the time of organization Illinois had some 200,000 people; in another five years it was to have nearly half a million. Yet less than a year before the first diocesan convention there was but one clergyman in the whole state. The clergy staff at the time of the General Convention consisted of the Bishop, 4 presbyters and 2 deacons, 4 of whom were employed by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. Six parishes had been organized in the most important towns, but only one church building had been completed. The communicants in 4 parishes numbered 39; Sunday School scholars in 3 parishes, 58. "The tide of emigration to Illinois is immense," a large German Protestant population being part of it. These were lacking ministers of their own, and they were well disposed towards the Episcopal Church, but "prompt and energetic action is requisite" in sending ministers and in translating the Prayer Book into German.

In the training of the clergy to man the posts of the Church's

opportunity, the General Theological Seminary was an important factor. The report of the Trustees to the General Convention revealed that, since the Seminary's establishment in 1817, 250 students had entered its doors; of these, 17 had graduated in June, 34 were Middlers, and 29 Juniors. The alumni totaled 90, and the Society of Associate Alumni had been formed. The average annual expenses of a student were \$80.50, including board, washing, fuel and lights, rooms being rent free. The budget for the coming academic year had been fixed at \$8,670.00, of which Professors Turner and Wilson were to receive as salaries \$1,500 each; Professor Moore, \$750; and Dr. Hawks and Dr. Anthon were to teach without pay. A deficit of \$3,061 would still exist and would have to be met. Entrance requirements had been lately raised; the library consisted of 4,071 volumes; a new building to cost \$32,000 was in process of construction; \$7,500 had been added to scholarship funds; and sixteen lots had been added to the Seminary property by filling in the Hudson River. Mr. Peter G. Stuyvesant had founded the "St. Mark's in the Bowery" Professorship of Church History in the sum of \$25,000. The total cost of Seminary buildings, furniture and improvements to real estate since its organization amounted to \$58,593.60. The total of the Seminary endowment, exclusive of real estate, was \$68,164.11, of which sum \$21,646.22 represented scholarship funds.

IN BEHALF OF CHURCH HISTORY

Intensely concerned as this Convention was with the present and future of the Church, it yet took time to give due consideration to the past. A valuable precedent had been set by the General Convention of 1820 which had appointed a joint committee consisting of Bishop White and the Rev. Messrs. George Boyd and Jackson Kemper, all of Pennsylvania, "to make a collection of the Journals of the General Conventions, and of the several Diocesan Conventions, and of other important documents connected with the history of the Church in the United States." This Committee reported to the Convention of 1823, stating that they had been "enabled to collect the greater part of the documents they were required to obtain, which they have deposited in the library of St. James' Church, Philadelphia, under the care of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania." They submitted two lists, one showing the journals and other valuable papers obtained, for which they were almost entirely indebted to Bishop White, including: (1) An account in MS of the first meetings of Committees for organizing the Church; (2) A collection in writing from the records of the office of the Bishop

of London, relative to the Church in this country, copied by the Rev. Alexander Murray and given by him to Bishop White; (3) The only entire collection of original Journals of General Convention, then known to be extant, from 1785 to 1814, inclusive, to which were added the Pastoral Letters of 1808, 1811, and 1814; (4) A collection of Diocesan Convention Journals, still incomplete. The other list recorded documents not obtained which were urgently needed, most of those missing being gaps in the files of Diocesan Journals.

The Reverend Francis L. Hawks, D.D., the eloquent Rector of St. Thomas' Church, New York, addressed a long communication to the House of Bishops of the 1835 Convention, setting forth that he had been collecting for more than five years, from every accessible source, materials for a history of the American Episcopal Church. He had been successful beyond his expectations, yet much remained to be done and no time was to be lost while the testimony of living witnesses was still available. He offered his collection to the General Convention and offered a plan for its preservation and future additions.

Dr. Hawks' collection included: 77 volumes of periodical publications of the American Episcopal Church, 13 periodicals being represented; 20 bound volumes of Diocesan Convention Journals; 40 bound volumes of pamphlets, many of them controversial and many of a very early date; about 20 unbound manuscript volumes of original letters and MSS. of deceased bishops and other clergymen, "not the least interesting of his collection."

The plan for the future suggested by Dr. Hawks was accepted by the Committee of the House of Bishops of which Bishop Meade was chairman, adopted by that House, and concurred in by the House of Deputies. Dr. Hawks' offer was accepted with thanks and the plan involved the following: Bishop White and Dr. Hawks were to apply, "in the name of this Convention," to the authorities of Lambeth Palace, Fulham Palace, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for documents or copies bearing upon the history of the American Church; a conservator, to be appointed by General Convention, was to receive and preserve all materials then owned by the Convention and to solicit donations of other sources which might be useful; such books and materials were to be deposited in the Library of the General Theological Seminary; the conservator was to be permitted to solicit money for this work; and Dr. Hawks was appointed conservator.

Thus we see that the gentlemen who were vitally concerned in making Church History of no mean order were alive to that history out of which the Church, as they knew it, had come to pass.

THE FOUR PROBLEMS

The *first* problem to be dealt with by the Convention was that of the newly formed Diocese of Illinois and the election of Philander Chase as its Bishop. While an undergraduate at Dartmouth, from which college he graduated in 1795, he had found a Prayer Book and had been converted by it. He was ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Provoost in 1798 and immediately afterwards planted parishes in the then wilderness of Central New York, notably at Utica and Auburn. After ordination to the priesthood he had charge of churches in Poughkeepsie and Fishkill for five years in addition to being principal of an academy. By request of Bishop Moore he went to New Orleans in 1805 and established Christ Church there. After Herculean labors and an almost fatal attack of malaria, he returned to Christ Church, Hartford, Connecticut, in 1811. Always possessed of a restless pioneer spirit, the frontier called too strongly for him to be contented in a settled parish, so he forsook the East for Ohio. Late in 1818 he traveled eastward over the mountains with a certificate of election as Bishop of Ohio in his pocket, five clergymen and nine laymen having elected him at Worthington, Ohio, about one year after the organization of the Diocese. He was consecrated by Bishop White, assisted by Bishops Hobart, Kemp, and Croes, in St. James' Church, Philadelphia, February 11, 1819. Convinced of the necessity of a college in the west for the recruiting and training of ministers, he went to England to raise money over the vigorous opposition of Bishop Hobart, and came back in 1824 with \$20,000 in his purse and later received \$10,000 more. Then, in 1831, following disagreements over the administration of Kenyon College, he resigned the presidency and his bishopric without asking the leave of the House of Bishops or General Convention. He plunged into the wilds of Michigan, working a farm and preaching the Gospel for about four years, until the three clergymen and three parishes organized at Peoria in 1835 the Diocese of Illinois and elected Bishop Chase as their Bishop. He was by that time sixty years old, but nothing daunted he accepted and appeared at the General Convention as Bishop of Illinois.

The House of Bishops appointed a special Committee consisting of Bishops Brownell, Benjamin Onderdonk and Meade to consider the request of Illinois for admission into union with the General Convention and the confirmation of Bishop Chase's election. The Committee felt that the irregularities of procedure could be overlooked because "the case was unprovided for by the Canons of the Church. As there is no probability that a similar case can occur hereafter, in which they may be adduced as a precedent, and as there

are other especial considerations which render it desirable that the measures of the Convention of Illinois should be consummated by the action of the General Convention," the Committee recommended the admission of the Church of Illinois as a Diocese with Bishop Chase as its head into union with the General Convention. The House of Bishops adopted the report and the resolution and the House of Deputies concurred the same day, August 24, 1835.

The *second* major problem before the Convention was the division of dioceses. This the Convention was loath to undertake because most of the leaders were wedded to the idea of "state sovereignty" and the corollary that the Diocese should be coterminous with the state. But the situation in New York demanded relief. The state was almost 50,000 square miles in area, 300 miles from east to west, and 300 miles from north to south along the eastern boundary line. As we have seen from the Report of the State of the Church, it had grown so rapidly in its church population as to be unwieldy for one bishop to administer. Bishop Onderdonk had prepared the way by presenting the subject to his own Diocesan Convention and introduced it into the House of Bishops. A Joint Committee headed by Bishop White reported favorably and recommended an amendment to the Constitution to effect it. After due debate, the first reading was passed by the Convention of 1835 proposing that the constitution be so changed as to permit any diocese to be divided if the resulting dioceses shall each contain not less than 8,000 square miles and 30 presbyters, provided that the Bishop and Convention of the original diocese, and the General Convention give their consent. This proposed amendment was ratified in 1838 and the Diocese of Western New York was set off in that year.

The *third* and *fourth* major problems demanding solution—the *missionary episcopate* and the *missionary organization*—were bound up together and were by no means new; they were as old as the Church's independent existence—fifty years. Because the General Convention of 1835 effectively solved these problems as they had not been solved before, it ranks among the really great conventions and stands as a turning point in the history of the American Church.

Why was the American Episcopal Church so remiss in meeting the challenge of the frontier? Why was it so slow in seizing the opportunity which the rapidly growing West offered? Did the leadership which so ably brought about its reorganization and establishment as a united, independent, self-governing national Church within the Anglican Communion fail to grasp the situation? I think not, as I shall endeavor to prove. In the general condemnation heaped upon the Church and her leaders of the period following the

reorganization, there has been more heat than light. It is not sufficiently well understood that religion in general and the American Episcopal Church in particular were in the grip of forces which the leaders could not immediately control or circumvent.

Immediately after the reorganization of the Church was accomplished in 1789, the General Convention of 1792 which met in New York attacked the problem of the growing frontier. An act was passed "for supporting missionaries to preach the gospel on the frontiers of the United States." This act "recommended that the ministers of the Church preach a sermon in each of the churches under their care on the first Sunday of September in every year for the purpose of collecting money, in order to carry into effect this charitable design"; that each State Convention appoint a treasurer to receive such moneys, and he in turn should pay over the money received by him to the general treasurer to be appointed by the Bishop of Pennsylvania and the Standing Committee appointed by the General Convention; when sufficient money was in hand, the Standing Committee was to employ such missionaries "as to them shall seem best."

This Committee, composed of Bishop White, Rev. Drs. William Smith, Magaw, Andrews, Blackwell, and Messrs. Samuel Powel and John Wood, was ordered to prepare an address to the members of the Church, which address was to be read by the ministers of the Church on the day appointed for the collection. Copies of this address are still extant.* It is one of the best statements of missionary motive and policy to be found anywhere. After reviewing the labors of previous conventions which resulted in the union of the Church, the securing of the Episcopate, and the revision of the Prayer Book, the address points out that the objective of "so good a system" is an "evangelical profession of Religion" and "holiness of heart and life; an effect which may be looked for, wherever provision has been made for the stated preaching of the word, and the administration of the Sacraments." But there were many persons "on the extensive frontier of the United States who, having been educated in the faith and worship of our Church, wish to have the benefits of its ministry"; but they cannot unless helped by their richer brethren who do have them.

"It has ever been held a duty, incumbent on every branch of the Christian Church, not to neglect, as far as opportunity shall offer, the publishing of the glad tidings of salvation, even to heathen nations. Accordingly, it cannot but be the desire of every member of our Communion, that something may be attempted by us, in due time, for assisting in every laudable endeavor for the conversion of our

*One is among the Bishop Croes Papers in Rutgers University Library.

Indian neighbours, notwithstanding former disappointments and discouragements: And it is the sincere wish and prayer of those who now address you, that the day may not be far distant, when Providence shall open the door, and we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity, for so good a work. But if this be a duty, how much more so is the extending of aid to those, who are of one Faith and one Baptism with ourselves; but who, from unavoidable causes, are without those means of public worship, which the Divine Author of our religion has accomodated to the wants and weaknesses of human nature; and which He saw to be, on those accounts, necessary for upholding the profession of His name.

"The promise of Christ, to be with His Church to the end of the world, will never fail; and yet particular branches of the Universal Church may either flourish or decline, in proportion to their continuing in a pure profession and suitable practice on the one hand, and to their falling into error, or indifference and unholy living, on the other. However prosperous, therefore, the beginning of our Church in this new world, she will have little reason to look up for a continuance of the Divine Blessing, if, when she contemplates so many members of her communion 'scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd,' she does not use her diligence to bring them within Christ's Fold, and to secure to them a stated administration of the ordinances of His religion."

The address ends with a reminder of what the Church of England had done for the Church in the Colonies, "the example is what we ought, in reason, to imitate"; and in helping to make good Christians, they will be helping to make good citizens.

Why did so little come of this admirable beginning? Why did forty-three years have to elapse before the whole Church could be enlisted in missionary work?

The fifteen years following the close of the American Revolution was a period of spiritual deadness among *all* American churches. It was "the period of the lowest ebb-tide of vitality in the history of American Christianity." Deism was rampant. Christianity was ridiculed. Tom Paine was the vogue among young men. French Revolutionary sentiment was powerful and college boys boasted of their infidelity, taking Voltaire, Rousseau and the Encyclopaedists as their heroes. The Presbyterian College at Princeton had in 1782 but two students who professed themselves Christians. The Presbyterian General Assembly in 1798 laments the prevailing impiety, infidelity and contempt for religion. Virginia Baptists likewise complained and the Methodists for a number of years reported a steady decline in membership. As late as 1811, when William Meade, later Bishop of Virginia, offered himself for ordination at Williamsburg,

universal surprise was expressed that a college-bred man should apply for orders, the students having recently debated the question "whether Christianity had been beneficial or injurious to mankind." Manners and morals reflected the low estate of religion.

But why did it take so much longer for the Episcopal Church to recover from this deadly disease than for other religious organizations? Competent historians are quite generally agreed that the Episcopal Church suffered the most complete collapse of all religious bodies following the War of Independence. And this for several reasons: (1) It was identified with the cause of King George, and that had been defeated. This hostility remained until after the War of 1812 and it was powerful. (2) Most of the abler clergy abandoned the country altogether for more hospitable cures in Canada or England. (3) With one stroke of the pen, the generous subsidies of the S. P. G. were cut off and those missionaries of the Society who remained in the United States were often destitute and discouraged. No one except Philander Chase thought it proper to ask the Mother Church for sorely needed assistance. (4) Many of the finest laymen in the Colonial Church left for Canada and the resulting weakness of most parishes made the support of possible recruits for the ministry exceedingly precarious. (5) The Church's stand for an educated ministry did not allow her to recruit the ranks of her ministry as easily as the Methodists and Baptists. (6) Liturgical services were not exactly popular on the frontier, where the majority could neither read nor write. (7) Many of the Church's educated laity were rationalists and deists to whom enthusiasm for anything except politics was a joke.

The truth is, it was nothing less than providential that the Episcopal Church survived at all, and there were many who did not believe that it could. And after the Church came out of the period of decline, there had to be an era of strengthening the stakes before there could be a lengthening of the cords. The tide visibly turned with the consecration to the Episcopate of Hobart, Griswold and Moore. But it was too late for the Church to play the great part in the winning of the West which she might have played if she had not been the victim of the alliance of Church and State by which her spiritual powers were hamstrung for one hundred and seventy-five years.

THE MISSIONARY EPISCOPATE

The Committee appointed by the House of Deputies to consider the subject of the Missionary Episcopate had a majority of western

deputies: the Rev. Messrs. Caleb S. Ives of Alabama, Leonidas Polk of Tennessee, Edward C. McGuire of Virginia, and of the laity, Dr. John E. Cooke of Kentucky and Alexander C. Magruder of Maryland. The Committee reported that "the Journals of our several General Conventions show the deep anxiety of the Church, at all times, to provide for the spiritual wants of our brethren in the Territories and young States."

The Convention of 1808 had appointed a committee of three bishops, two presbyters and two laymen, "to consider of, and determine on, the proper mode of sending a Bishop into said States and Territories; and, in case of a reasonable prospect of accomplishing the object, to elect a person to such Episcopacy. In 1811, that committee reported that they had not proceeded to elect a person to said office, because at that time there existed no reasonable prospect of accomplishing the object. Thereupon, the Bishops of Virginia and Pennsylvania were requested to devise means for the supply of Episcopal congregations west of the Alleghany Mountains with the ministrations and worship of the Church; and for 'organizing the Church in the western states.'" But Bishop Madison died in 1812 and nothing came of the authorization.

The effects of this delay can be better understood by considering the case of one of the missionaries involved. The Rev. Joseph Doddridge had been a Methodist minister under Asbury. He had learned the German language so well as to be able to preach in it. On further study he became a convert to the Episcopal Church and was ordered deacon by Bishop White in 1792. He labored in West Virginia, Western Pennsylvania and Ohio most of his life. The first Christian service in Washington, Pennsylvania, was held by Doddridge in 1792; in 1793 he was at West Liberty, Ohio County, Virginia (now West Virginia); the first sermon preached in Steubenville, Ohio, was in the upper room of the old log courthouse in 1796, and Doddridge preached it. In 1800, he moved to Wellsburg, Virginia, and founded parishes in Wheeling, and across the river in Belmont County, Ohio, in 1802, and Zanesville, 1810.

In this latter year (1810) Doddridge and his few clerical brethren in western Pennsylvania and western Virginia held a meeting and asked, through Bishop White, permission of the General Convention to form a diocesan convention for the western country. As we have seen, the General Convention of 1811 acted but nobody else did.

In a letter to Bishop Hobart dated December, 1816, Doddridge reviews the effects of this inaction:

"Eighteen months elapsed before I heard of the fate of our petition and that the project had been laid aside on

account of the death of Bishop Madison. I then lost all hope of ever witnessing any prosperity in our Church in this part of America. Everything fell into a state of languor. The vestries were not re-elected; our young people joined other societies. Could I prevent this when I indulged no hope of a successor in the ministry? When I had no expectation that even my own remains after death would be committed to the grave with the funeral services of my Church? . . . I resolved, however, that I would not desert my post, and with God's help, I will not. How often did I reflect with feelings of the deepest regret and sorrow, that if anything like an equal number of professors of any other Christian community had been placed in Siberia or India, and equally dependent upon a supreme ecclesiastical authority in this country, that they would not have been so neglected, that a request so reasonable would have been met with prompt and cheerful compliance. . . . It must be well known to you that the State of Kentucky, the Territories of Missouri and Illinois, the State of Indiana, as well as some large districts in the State of Ohio, have been settled by emigration for the most part from Maryland and Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. . . . The western part of Virginia has received the population from the same source. Most, if not all of these states, were before the Revolution, Crown States, and their inhabitants members of the established Church. The people still retain many of the distinguishing features of the general characteristics of their forefathers. . . . Among these traits of character is that of a strong dislike to Puritanism, and this is one that still exists among them in considerable force. No great number of them have ever united with the Presbyterians. You may have supposed from the pompous reports which have appeared from time to time concerning the progress of the Presbyterians, Methodists and Anabaptists in the western countries, that they had long before now swallowed up almost all the population of this country. Not so, for with the exception of the western part of Pennsylvania, go where you will, you will find from one-third to one-half the population of the towns and villages and their neighbourhoods of no religious profession whatever. Ask them concerning the religion of their forefathers. They will answer, they were Church people. Many of these people still retain an old Prayer Book as a venerable relic of antiquity. They still have a reverence for Baptism and the Lord's Day. The Church, they say, was once pure and good, but now it is fallen, and they fear will never be revived again. . . . I will now state the measures which appear to me necessary for the creation of Episcopal Churches in this country.

The first is a Convention. . . . I am under the painful necessity of stating that I am the only Episcopal

Clergyman in the western part of Virginia, where by this time there ought to have been at least forty! . . .

The next is a Bishop. The very idea of a Bishop several hundred miles from his flocks is discouraging in the extreme. The Methodist Bishops have been frequently through this country, and even the Catholics, though few in number, have been comforted by the presence and services of their Episcopal Pastor. No such event has happened to us. For many great and important purposes well known to you, the holy Episcopal office, to be serviceable, should be at hand. Our people wish and pray for this, and I trust we are worthy of an Episcopate among ourselves. . . . As we have material for forming congregations here, so I trust there are some for the Ministry. The clerical profession is becoming reputable in this country. Some physicians and lawyers have expressed a desire to take orders in the Church. Could it be done with convenience? When I reflect upon the little which has been done for the promotion of our Church in this extensive region, I feel abased. If I should say that there are at present half a million of Episcopalians and their descendants in the western country, including the whole of Western Virginia, I verily believe that I should not be justly chargeable with exaggeration. What has been done for the spiritual interests of these people? Almost nothing at all. Had we imitated at an early period the example of other societies, employed the same means for collecting our people into societies, and building Churches, and with the same zeal, we should have had by this time four or five Bishops, surrounded by a numerous and respectable body of Clergy, instead of having our very names connected with a fallen Church. Instead of offering a rich and extensive plunder to every sectarian missionary, we should have occupied the first and highest station among the Christian Societies of the West. Ought we not to hasten to gather those still within our reach? Yes, they wish, they pray, for our Bishop. Oh! let that assistance which they consider so necessary for their eternal welfare be no longer withheld!

Bishop Hobart was not the man to let such an appeal go unanswered. Hobart's influence can in some measure be understood when it is realized that as early as 1811, of the whole list of 178 clergy returned to the General Convention of that year, 93, or more than one-half, were in regular correspondence with him, seeking his advice and counsel. Undoubtedly this letter of Doddridge's, and Hobart's reaction to it, were responsible for the canon passed by the General Convention of 1817, authorizing portions of the Dioceses of Virginia and Pennsylvania to place themselves under the provisional superintendence of such Bishops as might be consecrated for the States and Territories in which the Church was not yet organized into dioceses.

But again the Church stayed her hand and repealed the canon in 1820 in expectation that Bishop Chase of Ohio, recently consecrated, might render the needed service to the "distant and destitute brethren." And thus it rested for another ten years. During the decade following, Georgia (1823), Mississippi (1826), Tennessee (1829), Kentucky (1829), Alabama (1830), and Michigan (1832) were admitted as Dioceses but without bishops in any of them. At the General Convention of 1829, the House of Deputies requested the House of Bishops "to consider of, and report to the next General Convention, a plan for extending to the States and Territories in which the Church is not organized, Episcopal services and Episcopal supervision." When 1832 came around, the Rev. Benjamin B. Smith had been elected Bishop of Kentucky and was consecrated during the General Convention of that year, along with Bishops Hopkins of Vermont, McIlvaine of Ohio, and Doane of New Jersey. There was a prospect of a Bishop for Tennessee which was subsequently realized. The Convention was therefore content to adopt a canon authorizing the election and consecration of a Bishop for what was called the South-Western Diocese—a proposed federation of Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana. But that measure failed also, and the failure was not helpful to the affected territory.

Why did all these heartaches come to nought until the Convention of 1835? Let the Committee speak:

"The reason why it was formerly supposed that there was not a reasonable prospect of accomplishing the object was that the Convention had not the power of providing 'food and raiment' for the Bishop whose consecration was so much desired. A missionary spirit on which reliance may now be had, has been awakened in the Church, and its missionary department puts it in the power of the Convention now to send the requisite number of Bishops to those settlements. The Committee take it for granted, that the proposed alteration in the Constitution of the Missionary Society will take place, and thus give to the Convention the power of supporting any number of Bishops that it may be deemed expedient to send into our Territories and States not yet admitted into union with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

In the same way, the requisite funds to support a Bishop to be sent abroad by the Church may be obtained. The Committee, therefore, recommend that provision be made for the support of Bishops to be employed in the foreign department of the operations of the Church, as soon as it may be deemed expedient to send them, and fit and proper persons are selected."

The canon as finally passed provided that "the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies may, from time to time, on nomination of the House of Bishops, elect a suitable person or persons to be a Bishop or Bishops of this Church, to exercise Episcopal functions in States and Territories not organized as Dioceses." Provision was also made for the election and consecration of a "suitable person to be a Bishop of this Church, to exercise Episcopal functions in any place or places out of the territory of the United States, which the House of Bishops may designate."

Thus was brought to pass what to us is a commonplace, but what was then a revolutionary principle, namely, that both jurisdiction and the power of mission belong to the Episcopate as a whole, and that a bishop chosen and consecrated to be the vicar of the American Episcopate should represent that body in places where the constituent members could not go. Although revolutionary, it was in fact but the restoration of the old primitive principle involved in the very word "apostle"—"one sent forth." As Bishop Doane said: A missionary bishop is "a bishop *sent forth* by the Church, *not sought for* of the Church; going before to organize the Church, not waiting till the Church has partially been organized; a leader, not a follower, in the march of the Redeemer's conquering and triumphant Gospel . . . sent by the Church, even as the Church is sent by Christ."

THE MISSIONARY ORGANIZATION

The first formal organizations for promoting missionary work were, naturally, diocesan; notably, those of New York, South Carolina and Pennsylvania for "the advancement of Christianity." The impetus for the organization of a national missionary society came from England and the Church Missionary Society. The Secretary, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, wrote in 1815 to several leading members of the American Church asking their co-operating in sending missionaries to Africa and the East. Bishop Griswold of the Eastern Diocese replied and later reported that the Rev. Joseph R. Andrus was anxious to serve in the foreign field. In 1817, the Church Missionary Society offered £200 to help form "in the Episcopal Church of the United States a missionary society for the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ among the heathen."

The Pennsylvania deputies in the General Convention of 1820 pressed the matter of organizing "a general Missionary Society for Foreign and Domestic Missions." The Convention acceded to the proposal and adopted the constitution for the Society. The Presiding Bishop was to be president; the other Bishops vice-presidents; a

board of managers of twenty-four members appointed by General Convention was to conduct the affairs of the Society and appoint two secretaries, a treasurer and other necessary officers. Auxiliary societies were to be established and annual contributors at \$3 per year were to be members, life members paying \$30 and patrons \$50.

Defects in the organization led to the suspension of its activities until they were remedied in the special Convention of 1821. Bishops were recognized as directors *ex-officio* and the title was changed to "The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society," which it has since retained. The Bishop of every diocese was to be president of the auxiliary societies organized within it. Twenty per cent of all moneys received was to be added to the endowment fund.

In 1823 not a single missionary was employed by the Society, but by the time the next General Convention met in 1826, the first domestic missionaries had been appointed—the Rev. M. S. Motte for St. Augustine, Florida, the Rev. Thomas Harrel for Jackson County, Missouri, the Rev. R. F. Cadle for Detroit, and the Rev. Norman Nash for the Indians at Green Bay. The Standing Committee of the House of Deputies, composed of the Rev. Messrs. Harry Crosswell of Connecticut, B. B. Smith of Vermont, and J. P. K. Henshaw of Maryland, noted these appointments, "but they regret to find that no missionary has yet been sent from this institution to any foreign land," although nearly \$2,000 had been subscribed "for a mission to the western coast of Africa and other considerable sums for establishing missions in other parts of the world." On recommendation of this Committee, the House of Deputies passed a resolution urging the Board of Directors "to establish, and as soon as possible occupy, a missionary station at Liberia . . . and also at Buenos Ayres, or its vicinity, in South America."

In the General Convention of 1829, the House of Deputies passed a resolution stating that "there exists an alarming deficiency in the number of our clergy, so that many of our congregations are unsupplied, and our missionary societies are unable to obtain as many missionaries as they wish"; and the House of Bishops was requested to bring this subject to the Church's members, urging the formation of Education Societies to help in the preparation of "pious and indigent candidates for the sacred office," and requesting the clergy "to present the same to the consideration of pious parents and youth" in their congregations.

The Society's Triennial Report to the Convention of 1829 revealed that the Society had only twenty auxiliary societies, seven having been added since 1826, and of these only a few had been regular in their remittances. The patrons numbered eighty-three, life

members forty-four, and annual subscribers thirty-six. The Secretary had been made General Agent and in six months' endeavor had secured only \$900, of which his expenses were \$370. The treasury was faced with an alarming deficit and the Board was "unable to calculate at any time upon funds for missions until they were actually received into the treasury." Nevertheless, "the Board would express their conviction that the interests of the Society have been for some time past, after a long season of doubt and disquietude, gradually but slowly advancing." Churches had been erected under the Society's auspices at St. Louis and Detroit. Missionaries had been sent to St. Augustine, Pensacola and Tallahassee in Florida; and to Tuscaloosa in Alabama; the operations at Green Bay, for some time suspended, had been resumed; a settlement of the Oneida Indians in Michigan had been taken under the care of the Society; and a missionary agent, the Rev. John J. Robertson, had been despatched to Greece to make preparations for establishing schools.

The Standing Committee of the House of Deputies to which this report was referred dealt with it in vigorous fashion. The Rev. Alonzo Potter, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, and later Third Bishop of Pennsylvania (1845-1865), was chairman; the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, then Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, New Haven; the Rev. Dr. Thomas Lyell, Rector of Christ Church, New York City; Messrs. William Meredith of Pennsylvania and Edward A. Newton of Massachusetts were the other members. While acknowledging with gratitude what had been accomplished, the Committee "still cannot but express their regret that these efforts have borne so small a proportion . . . even to that missionary zeal which is actually existing in our Church. The truth is, this Society has not yet received, even from the friends of missions amongst us, that general and cordial support which was so earnestly to have been desired." This imperfect support was ascribed, first, to want of plans for raising funds, organized on systematic principles and emanating from the Board of Directors; and, second, to some provisions of the constitution which have impeded the Society's operations and "have the still more disastrous effect of estranging from it many who should have been its friends." They expected the defects in the constitution to be remedied at that Convention and they pointed out that parochial associations, subsidiary to the auxiliary societies, needed to be established in great numbers. The Committee strongly recommended "that the foreign operations of the Society be limited to the missions already established or about to be established" on the ground that efforts had been spread over too large an area, and that "concentrated action alone is powerful action."

In considering the domestic field, the Committee had "deliberated with deep and anxious interest. They see our young country at the West and South advancing with unexampled and almost fearful rapidity. They see that in the extension of Christianity, and in the establishment of the institutions of our Church, are to be found most important and indispensable safeguards to its peace and prosperity." And that is where they experienced great difficulty in deciding as to what points the chief energies of the Society should be devoted, where existed the greatest spiritual necessities, and where were the most favorable openings for the Church. On this subject they find "a great deficiency of definite and authentic information." For this reason, the visits of Bishop Ravenscroft to Tennessee and Kentucky had been most valuable and they welcomed the news that Bishop Brownell of Connecticut was soon to visit the Mississippi Valley which, in fact, he did the following year. Finally, the Committee observed that "a spirit of philanthropy is abroad in the world. It is evident it is beginning to pervade our own Communion. Your Committee cannot but look upon this institution (the Society) as one of the most important—they may say *the* most important—in our Church."

When the General Convention of 1832 convened, the Society's report revealed marked progress. The income had increased from \$7,305.30 for the year ending May 12, 1830, to \$12,746.63 for the year ending May 12, 1831; and from that to \$16,443.20 for the year ending May 12, 1832; and for the five months preceding the opening of the General Convention, \$10,239.17. The annual members had increased by 10, life members by 41, and patrons by 38, but the total was only 58 annual members, 85 life members, and 108 patrons. Thirty new auxiliary associations had been added, which made a total of seventy-five. Twenty-seven persons had been employed by the Society during the previous three years, and the financial responsibilities were: for the Greek missions, \$3,975; Green Bay missions, \$5,000; Domestic missionaries, \$1,275; other domestic objects, \$1,500; or a total of \$11,750.

The Standing Committee of the House of Deputies which considered this report felt that the domestic operations were not on a scale "commensurate with the distressing wants of the Church in this respect," and that the Society's tasks required more missionaries and more money. "Could an adequate supply of the former be obtained, there would be no deficiency of the latter." They accordingly pressed their resolutions recommending more parochial organizations auxiliary to the Society and greater support of its periodical publications.

Another three years went by and on the day preceding the opening of the General Convention of 1835, a special meeting of the Board of Directors of the Society was called. It was largely attended and, among others, by Bishops White, Moore, H. U. Onderdonk, Smith, McIlvaine and Doane. After settling some minor points, "the measure was brought in which, far beyond any other, gave a character to the Convention, and which has introduced, if we at all discern 'the signs of the times,' a new and brighter era in the history of the Church." The Rev. Dr. Milnor of St. George's Church, New York, moved that a committee be appointed "to consider and report whether any, and what measures should be adopted for the more efficient organization of the Society, and the future conduct of its concerns." The Committee appointed were Bishops Doane and McIlvaine, the Rev. Drs. Milnor, Henshaw, Kemper, Beasley of St. Michael's, Trenton, and Mr. A. C. Magruder of Maryland.

Before the Committee had met, Bishop Doane, Bishop McIlvaine and Dr. Milnor came casually together. "What would you think," said Dr. Milnor, "of reporting that *the Church is the Missionary Society*, and should carry on the work of missions by a Board appointed by the General Convention?" "Why," replied Bishop Doane, "it is the very plan which I have long thought ought to have been adopted, and for the adoption of which I should thank God with my whole heart." "How very strange is this," said Bishop McIlvaine. "I surely knew nothing of the mind of either of you, and yet this is the very plan which I have introduced into the sermon which I am to preach before the Society,"* When the Committee met, these three members stated their views and found them cordially reciprocated by *all* their associates. Thus, as to the principle of their report, the Committee were from the first unanimous. And thus did God make men to be of one mind in one house.

On Friday, August 21st, the Committee of the Board of Directors, by their chairman, Bishop Doane, presented their report to the Society in which it unanimously recommended: "That the Church herself, in dependence on her Divine Head, and for the promotion of his glory, undertake and carry on, in her character as the Church, and as 'the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America,' the work of Christian Missions." The General Convention, as the representative of the whole Church, was to be the constitutional organ for the prosecution of this work. The field was always to be regarded as one, the world—the terms *Domestic* and *Foreign* being understood as terms of

*"The Missionary," periodical of the Diocese of New Jersey; Vol. I, No. 44, p. 175; Sept. 19, 1835.

locality, adopted for convenience. All baptized persons were to be members of the Society by virtue of their baptism. Each parish was to be regarded as a missionary association, and its pastor as agent of the Board, for Jesus' sake. The members of the Church were to be called upon to support missions by some plan of systematic giving. To carry out these principles, the agent of the General Convention was to be the Board of Missions and two Committees were to be appointed with a Secretary for each, one to direct the domestic work and the other to direct the foreign work. By an unwritten understanding or gentleman's agreement, the Low Churchmen were to control the foreign work and the High Churchmen the domestic field. A missionary paper was to be established and this resulted in "The Spirit of Missions."

The report having been read, Bishop Doane was requested, on motion of Dr. Milnor and by unanimous vote of the Board of Directors, to present these revolutionary proposals to the Society, the necessary first step before presentation to the Convention. In an address of great power, he argued "that by the original constitution of Christ, the Church as the Church, was the one great Missionary Society; and the Apostles, and the Bishops, their successors, his perpetual trustees: and that this great trust could not, and should never be divided or deputed. The duty, he maintained, to support the Church in preaching the Gospel to every creature, was one which passed on *every Christian by the terms of his baptismal vow*, and from which he could never be absolved. The General Convention he claimed to be the duly constituted representative of the Church; and pointed out its admirable combination of all that was necessary to secure, on the one hand, the confidence of the whole Church, and on the other, the most concentrated and intense efficiency. He then explained the constitution of the Board of Missions, the permanent Agent of the Church in this behalf: developing and defining all its powers and functions, as the central reservoir of energy and influence for the Missionary work; and the appointment by it, and in subordination to it, of the *two Executive Committees* for the two departments, Foreign and Domestic, of the one great field—the Missionary *hands* of the Church, reaching out into all the world to bear the Gospel to every creature,—each having its *Secretary and Agent*, some strong and faithful man, imbued and saturated with the Missionary spirit, *the index-finger*, as it were, of the Committee—to touch, to move, to control, by their direction, each one of the ten thousand springs that are to energize the Church. For the effectual organization of the body, in the holy work to which the Saviour calls them, he indicated *the parochial relation*, as the most important of all bonds,—calling on

every clergyman, as the Agent of the Board, for Jesus' sake, to use his utmost effort in instructing, first, and interesting his people; then in engaging their free-will offering of themselves in its support, upon the apostolic plan of *systematic charity*—laying up in store on every Lord's Day, as God should prosper them; and, when the gathering was made, transmitting to the treasury of the Church the consecrated alms."*

After Bishop Doane concluded, Bishop McIlvaine and Drs. Milnor and Henshaw defended and enforced the principles of the proposed organization. After much discussion, the report was recommended to the same Committee, with others added, to prepare a detailed Constitution and report that to the Society. On Tuesday, August 25th, the Society again met and received the Constitution embodying the principles and plans as originally proposed by the Committee. It was adopted by the Society, and finally by both Houses of the Convention on Friday, August 28th.

All this was not done in a corner. The interest was intense. One who was there, wrote about it as follows:†

"The discussion of this subject, in the different bodies through which it passed, occupied several days, and was, in every circle, however remotely connected with the Church, the prevailing theme of every tongue. Large numbers of persons, not connected with the Convention or the Society, attended with unfailing interest the frequent and protracted sittings. The debates were conducted with great spirit and ability, in some instances in strains of powerful eloquence, but always with Christian courtesy and kindness. The difference of opinion which existed was obviously an honest difference. The end and aim which each proposed was, as obviously, the most efficient organization of an institution, which all agreed was of the highest value to the Church. The benefit of such a discussion cannot be estimated. Facts were elicited, views were developed, and principles were established, which brought conviction to every mind; and the missionary enterprise received an impulse, which will extend, we trust, to every corner of the land. The persons who took chief part in the discussion, for and against the reported Constitution in its several details, were Bishops Brownell, Meade, Onderdonk of Pennsylvania, Onderdonk of New York, Hopkins, Smith, McIlvaine and Doane, the Rev. Drs. Milnor, Potter, Tyng, Hawks, Gadsden, Mason and Wainwright, the Rev. Messrs. Boyd, James, Mason, and Richmond, and Messrs. Eccleston, Newton, Jay, Meredith, Nicklin, Wheeler, Magruder, and Wallace. In the end, it was adopted, as it stands, with great and

*"The Missionary," Vol. I, No. 42, pp. 166, 167.

†"The Missionary," Vol. I, No. 42, pp. 167, 168.

gratifying unanimity. For ourselves, we consider it a measure of far greater promise to the Church of Christ than any which in our day has been effected. In its adoption, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States has placed herself on primitive ground. She stands, as a Church, in the very attitude in which the Apostolic Church at Jerusalem, when the day of Pentecost had brought the Holy Spirit down to guide and bless it, set out to bear the Gospel of its heavenly Head to every soul of man in every land. As the Church she undertakes, and before God binds herself to sustain, the injunction of her Lord, to go and 'make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' Upon every one who, in the water of Baptism, has owned the eternal triune name, she lays, on peril of his soul if he neglect it, the same sacred charge. Her Bishops are Apostles, all; her clergy, all Evangelists; her members, each in his own sphere, and to his utmost strength, are Missionaries, every man; and she—that noblest of all names—a *Missionary Church*—'to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places may be made known, by the Church, the manifold wisdom of God.' "

CONCLUSION

We close our account of the General Convention of 1835 with the pen of George Washington Doane, Second Bishop of New Jersey, whose part in that Convention was not without honor.*

"But Tuesday, September 1st, as it was the last day of the Convention, so it was, by eminence, the day of glorious issues for the Church. The Board of Missions, at the call of the venerable Presiding Bishop, held its first meeting, and appointed its two Committees—that for Domestic Missions to be located in the City of New York, and that for Foreign Missions in the City of Philadelphia. The important business of the session was tending to a close. The whole day had been diligently occupied with the most solemn duties. The Canon 'Of Missionary Bishops' had received the final sanction of both Houses. Two oversepherds were to be sent out, the messengers of the Church, to gather and to feed, under the direction of the House of Bishops, the scattered sheep that wander, with no man to care for their souls, through all the wide and distant West. It was an act, in this Church, never exercised before. And yet, upon its due discharge, interests depended which outweigh the world, and will run out into eternity.

"In the Church (St. Andrew's) the representatives of the dioceses are assembled. They wait, in their proper places,

*"The Missionary," Vol. I, No. 42, pp. 167, 168.

the eventful issue; while expectation thrills the hearts of all the multitude which throngs the outer courts. In a retired apartment, the Fathers of the Church are in deep consultation. There are twelve assembled. They kneel in silent prayer. They rise. They cast their ballots. A presbyter, whose praise is in all the Churches, is called by them to leave a heritage as fair as ever fell to mortal man, and bear his Master's Cross through the deep forests of the vast South-West. Again the ballots are prepared. They are cast in silence. They designate to the same arduous work, where broad Missouri pours her rapid tide, another, known and loved of all, whom, from a humbler lot, the Saviour now has called to feed his sheep. A messenger bears the result to the assembled deputies. A breathless silence fills the house of God. It is announced that Francis L. Hawks and Jackson Kemper, Doctors in Divinity, are nominated the two first Missionary Bishops of the Church; and all the delegates, as with a single voice, confirm the designation.

"One scene remains.—The night is far advanced. The congregation linger still, to hear the parting counsels of their fathers in the Lord. There is a stir in the deep chancel. The Bishops enter, and array themselves in their appropriate seats. The aged patriarch, at whose hands they all have been invested with the warrant of their holy trust, stands in the desk,—in aspect, meek, serene, and venerable, as the beloved John at Ephesus, when, sole survivor of the apostolic band, he daily urged upon his flock the affecting lesson, 'Little children, love one another!' Erect and tall, though laden with the weight of almost ninety winters, and with voice distinct and clear, he holds enchained all eyes, all ears, all hearts, while, with sustained and vigorous spirit he recites, in behalf and name of all his brethren, the Pastoral message, drawn from the stores of his long hoarded learning, enforced by the deductions of his old experience, and instinct throughout with the seraphic meekness of his wisdom.—He ceases from his faithful testimony. The voice of melody, in the befitting words of that delightful Psalm, 'Behold, how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity,' melts all hearts. And then, all knees are bent, to ask once more, as something to be borne and cherished in all after life, the apostolic benediction of that good old man."

And so the great Convention of 1835 passed into history, but its good deeds and mighty acts live after it, and we have entered into the fruits of its labors.

THE MISSIONARY BISHOP

A SERMON

PREACHED AT THE

CONSECRATION¹

OF THE RIGHT REVEREND

JACKSON KEMPER, D.D.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND

GEORGE WASHINGTON DOANE, D.D.

BISHOP OF NEW JERSEY

Romans X. 15.—How shall they preach except they be sent?

Brethren, we are assembled, under the protection of Almighty God, to partake in, or to witness, the consecration of A MISSIONARY BISHOP. It is a new office in this Church. The event has not occurred before. What we are now to do will go on record, as a precedent. Is it right that it should be done? Is it wise in us to do it? Is the

¹The Rev. Jackson Kemper, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Norwalk, Connecticut, was consecrated on Friday, September 25, 1835, in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia (in the pastoral care of which he had been twenty years associated with the Right Reverend and Venerable Rector), the first Missionary Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, to exercise Episcopal functions in Missouri and Indiana, by the Right Reverend William White, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, Presiding Bishop, assisted by six other Bishops: Richard Channing Moore, Second Bishop of Virginia; Philander Chase, First Bishop of Illinois; Henry U. Onderdonk, Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania; Benjamin T. Onderdonk, Fourth Bishop of New York; Benjamin B. Smith, First Bishop of Kentucky; and George Washington Doane, Second Bishop of New Jersey.

Church prepared for the transaction?—Favour me, brethren, with your attention, while, according to the grace of God which is given unto me, I answer these plain questions. And Thou, divine and holy Saviour, who hadst compassion on the multitudes, “because they fainted and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd,” imbue us with Thy tender love for all the flock,—accept and sanctify our present effort to extend Thy sacred fold,—and make of him, who waits before us to receive Thy warrant, a pastor according to Thine own heart, to feed Thy people with knowledge and discretion!

THE MISSIONARY BISHOP

- I. What is *the nature of his office*?
- II. Has it *divine or apostolic sanction*?
- III. Is there a *present call for its provisions*?
- IV. Is it *consistent with the order and the genius of this Church*?

I. In strictness, as every minister of Jesus is a *Missionary*,² so are the Bishops, as His chief ministers, *eminently* Missionaries—*sent out* by Christ Himself to preach the Gospel—*sent* to preach it in a wider field—*sent* to preach it under a higher responsibility—*sent* to preach it at greater hazards of self-denial and self-sacrifice, and under circumstances more appalling of arduous labour and of anxious care,—to fulfil, in a single word, that humbling, but most wholesome precept of the Saviour, “whosoever of you shall be the chiefest, let him be servant of all.” But, though the “divers orders of ministers” which God, by His Holy Spirit, has appointed in the Church, have been, from the Apostles’ time, and will forever be the same,—and though it is the chief glory of the highest as of the lowest, that, like the blessed Son of God Himself, they are all Missionaries, sent out to preach the Gospel of salvation to a ruined world,—the different circumstances of the Church, in different countries, and at different times, lead to a difference of relation in the ministry, which may apply alike to each of its three orders. In places where the Church has long been settled, there will be a settled ministry. The people will supply themselves, or be supplied, through means which are substantially their own, with the word and ordinances of God—in other terms, they have *diocesan* Episcopacy and a *parochial* Clergy. In

²Literally, one sent out,—synonymous with the scriptural words, *Messenger*, and *Apostle*.

places where the Church has not been introduced, or has but partial and precarious lodgment, it, of course, cannot be so. To them emphatically applies the argument of the Apostle, of which the text is part. True, it is indeed so written in the Holy Scripture, "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. But how"—the question is as true and pertinent at this day as when urged by fervent Paul—"how shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach, except they be sent?" In other words, if they have ministers of Christ to admit them to the Christian fold by baptism, to preach in their ears the word of reconciliation, break among them the bread of everlasting life, and help them to train up their children "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," they must be *Missionaries*. If they have Bishops to oversee the flock, to lay hands upon them "after the example of the holy Apostles," "to ordain elders in every city, and set in order the things which are wanting," they must be *Missionary Bishops*. And precisely, as the Church, obeying the mandate of her divine Head, sends Presbyters and Deacons, to go "into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," so may she, and so should she, emulating that divine compassion, which yearned over the fainting multitudes, that roamed, untended and unfed, among the mountains of Judea, send Bishops to them, to seek the wandering flocks, to lead them to the sacred fold, to appoint them under-shepherds, to oversee and govern them with due authority and godly discipline, and, "warning every man and teaching every man in all wisdom," to do what in them lies to "present every man perfect in Christ Jesus." And this is what is meant by A MISSIONARY BISHOP—a Bishop *sent forth by the Church, not sought for of the Church*—going *before* to organize the Church, not waiting till the Church has partially been organized,—a leader, not a follower, in the march of the Redeemer's conquering and triumphant Gospel—sustained by their alms whom God has blessed both with power and will to offer to Him of their substance, for their benefit who are not blessed with both or either of them—sent by the Church, even as the Church is sent by Christ; not to such only as have knowledge of His truth, and desire Him for their king, but to the ignorant and the rebellious, to them who know not of His name, or who will not have Him to reign over them, to the ungodly, the heathen, the idolatrous—to all who ignorantly are in unbelief, or wilfully "His enemies, by wicked works."

II. But, *is there sanction for this office of a Missionary Bishop in the instructions of the Saviour, or in the practice of the Apostles?* It is abundantly supplied in both. Take, for example, St. Matthew's record of the Saviour's first appointment of the ministry. "And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people. But when He saw the multitudes He was moved with compassion on them because they fainted, and were scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd."³ "And when He had called unto Him His twelve disciples," He "sent" them "forth, and commanded them, saying," "as ye go, preach,—the kingdom of heaven is at hand."⁴ Here surely is a most unquestionable exhibition of *the Missionary principle*.—The Saviour died, and rose again. But neither death nor life, the bleeding agony of the Cross, nor the triumphant glory of the Resurrection, could turn aside His steadfast heart from its benevolent and holy purpose. "Then the same day at evening," says the Evangelist St. John, "being the first day of the week," the same on which He rose, "when the doors were shut, where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus, and stood in the midst of them and said, Peace be unto you"; "as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you."⁵ And once again, when He was just about to rise to heaven, Jesus came and spake to the eleven, saying, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Here was consummated and confirmed, by Jesus Christ Himself, with perpetuity of succession to the end of time, *the office of Apostle*, or—the inspiration and the power of miracles ceasing with the necessity for them—*of Missionary Bishop*.

If there be desired still farther precedent, what clearer instance, and what nobler model, of a Missionary Bishop than Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, traversing sea and land,—at Antioch, at Damascus, at Ephesus, at Jerusalem, at Corinth, at Athens, in Italy, in Spain,—not knowing the things that may befall him there, nor counting his life dear unto himself, so that he may finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus. Brethren, is there

³St. Matthew ix. 35, 36.

⁴St. Matthew x. 1, 5, 7.

⁵St. John xx. 19, 21.

triumphal march recorded, of conqueror or king, that shines out through the mist of ages with a track so luminous? What limit shall we set to the transforming power of that religion which could make the heart of a proud, persecuting Pharisee so overflow with self-denying love? Who would turn back from a career like this, though afflictions, bonds and death were multiplied a thousand fold along the way, to dream the longest life out in inglorious ease, or wear, even in its proudest and most palmy state, the purple of imperial Rome? And what poor dastards must we be, how utterly unfit to bear the name of Christ, if with such aids, such motives, such examples as we have, we still permit the ignoble thralls of time and sense to bind our spirits down to earth; and grovel in the mire of selfishness and sensuality, when we are called to tread the starry path by which not only Paul, but Polycarp, and Latimer, and Heber and Middleton, and Henry Martyn, and many more, whom time would fail us but to name, who "loved their lives not to the death," followed their Saviour into heaven!

III. But, *do the times require such efforts and such sacrifices?* Does Providence make plain before us the path of Christian duty? Is there a present call for the revival of what certainly received in the first ages the highest sanction, that even heaven itself can lend—the office of a Missionary Bishop? Look for a moment out upon the world. Glance with a rapid eye at the strange signs which mark the times. Look Eastward, and behold how throughout Asia ancient superstitions seem worn out and tottering to their fall. The sway of the false Prophet is now the shadow of what once it was. The mystic spell which shut out China from the world is fast dissolving, and the light of Gospel truth begins to break on her benighted and degraded millions. And even in Africa, which, for so many centuries, has lain in awful silence, like some old forgotten grave, grown over with long grass and weeds, faint signs of renovated life are seen, or seem to be, and challenge, by the holiest and most powerful sympathy, our pity, our exertions, and our prayers. Do we look homeward? Through the regions of our own unbounded West see how the stream of life sets onward. Behold, in arts, in wealth, in power, a progress such as earth has never seen, outrunning even fancy's wildest dreams; but with no provision that at all keeps pace with it, for the securing of man's nobler and immortal interests. Observe with what a keen and shrewd regard the Church of Rome has marked that region for her own, and with what steadiness of purpose she pursues her aim;

and seeks to lay the deep foundations of a power which is to grow as it grows, and to strengthen as it gathers strength.

Whence, in this crisis of the world, whence is the succour to be sought, that is to come up to the help of God against the mighty? To what source does the finger of His providence turn every eye that looks for rescue and relief? The Church of England, long by God's protecting favour, the stay and hope of Christendom, now needs her utmost succours for her own defence against the impious combination that attempts her overthrow. The Christian brethren, not of our communion, who have seemed to grow and multiply about us with a vigour so prolific, now begin to feel, and in some instances to own, the want of those inherent principles of union which alone can bind in one, large masses of mankind; and, destitute of ancient landmarks, stray insensibly from "the old paths," in which alone God's promise gives assurance of protection and of peace. Meanwhile, they turn instinctively to us. They recognize the doctrines which we hold, as the old faith which once was given to the Saints. They yield to us, with one accord, however they may differ from each other, the possession of a ministry with due authority from God to preach the Gospel of salvation, and set to its seals. They acknowledge the existence, in our institutions, of that tendency to fixed and certain centres, of those principles of unity, subordination and stability, which tend so powerfully to self-preservation, while they are so entirely indispensable to vigorous and enduring influence with others. They own that in the faithful use of our most scriptural and primitive service God may be worshipped, "in spirit and in truth," while man's infirmity is wisely guarded against much that tends to mar "the beauty of holiness," and to endanger the integrity of faith.

Brethren, these are no grounds of boasting on our part. There is nothing here that should be suffered to tempt us to glory over others, or to rely upon ourselves. No, God forbid! We have nothing, that we did not first receive. We have nothing for which we must not at the last account. We have nothing, which we ought not, in the spirit of true Christian meekness, to beseech our brethren, whom we love for Jesus' sake, to come and share with us. But, brethren, though we may not glory in our privileges, should we not be faithful in improving them? Though we may not boast of what the Lord has done for us, should we not be prompt and fervent in owning and proclaiming it? Though we may not triumph over others, who fall behind in any gift, should we not be earnest and untiring in com-

mending our advantages to them, and urging their adoption, not by the force of argument alone, but by the persuasive and prevailing eloquence of our meek, humble, holy, charitable, Christian conversation? If we believe that God has done more for us, than for some others of His children, the proper evidence of our sincerity is our endeavour to make up to them, from our abundance, their "lack of opportunity." If we are conscious that His presence is among us, and His blessing is upon us, the proof of our sincerity in that conviction is in "unfeigned love of the brethren," and in untiring efforts to make our light—the light reflected in us from the face of Jesus Christ—"so shine before men," that they may glorify with us our Father who is in heaven. If we believe that our principles as Protestant Episcopalians are most in accordance with the divine will, and therefore most for the promotion of human happiness, it is our duty to demonstrate it in action, to carry them out before the world in vigorous and efficient practice, and to make visible to every eye, and palpable to every heart, the great things which the Lord has done for us.

Brethren, I believe, before God, that next to the possession of the pure and undefiled religion of the Gospel of His Son,—and, in a degree so close and intimate that human penetration never can discriminate between them,—we are most indebted, for all that we are and all that we have that is most precious to us, here of Christian privilege, or hereafter of Christian hope, to the maintenance, in integrity and purity, of the order of His holy apostolic Church. I believe that it is to us, as faithful in the maintenance of both, that God continues, and, so long as we are faithful, will continue, to us His presence and protection—blessing, as He has promised that He will, the ministry of His appointment; accompanying, as He has pledged Himself to do, the glorious Church which He purchased to Himself with the blood of His dear Son, "alway, even unto the end of the world." I believe that, as the truth of the blessed and glorious Gospel is attested, not only by the outward evidence of its divine original, but by its quickening and transforming power in the conversion and renewal unto righteousness of every heart that faithfully receives it; so the identity of the one, holy, apostolic Church is and will ever be established, not only by the verifiable succession of its orders and sacraments, but by its effective and unquestionable agency as "the pillar and ground of the truth,"—as the conservator of God's pure and spiritual worship,—as the promoter in all human institutions, civil as well as religious, of order, strength and permanence,—as God's minister on earth of peace and good-will to man: the very purpose for which apostles, prophets,

evangelists, pastors, teachers—in a word, the whole structure of the Church was given—being, as St. Paul declares, “for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.”⁶

Believing these things, professing myself, as most assuredly I do, to be entirely conscientious in my belief of them, my principles as a Churchman, my attachment to the Church cannot be charged upon me as bigotry—may not, in Christian candour or in Christian charity, be denounced as blind and arbitrary attachment. No, it is part and parcel of my Christianity. I am protected against censure or reproach for that profession, by my Christian birthright to that glorious “liberty wherewith Christ has made us free.” Infinitely more and more important even than this—I am bound, bound most solemnly, bound by all my hopes of heaven, to offer, so far as in me lies, the same advantages, to commend and urge, so far as is consistent with that same glorious liberty, to the adoption of all others who have them not, the same inestimable privileges. Esteeming, as we do, beloved brethren, “the office of a Bishop,” enjoying, as we profess to do, with grateful hearts, the rich blessings which God has showered upon the Church in which it is our happiness to worship, how is it that we can, how is it that we dare, keep back from others the means of that enjoyment? If due perpetuation of the Church, and chief authority, and the protection of God’s promise, appertain to Bishops, as successors to the Apostles of the Lord, how can we encourage, so far as we have rightful influence, the extension or even the existence of the Church without a Bishop? If it be “evident,” as we declare, “to all men diligently reading holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles’ time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ’s Church, Bishops, Priests and Deacons,” by what warrant can we withhold from any portion of the Saviour’s family the chiefest of the three? If it be sound and true in practice, as it is certainly of primitive authority, “not to do anything without the Bishop,”⁷ upon what principle is it that we permit the organization of dioceses—nay, that we invite the organization of dioceses, and yet until they have a certain number of duly organized parishes, and of duly settled presbyters, compel them to remain—without a bishop?⁸

⁶*Ephesians iv. 11-13.*

⁷*See the Epistles of Ignatius, the disciple of St. John.*

⁸*Prudential reasons have been thought to require that no diocese in our communion should be allowed to proceed to the election of a Bishop until there had been duly settled in it six presbyters in charge of parishes for one year, and until there should also be six parishes duly organized. Such is the provision of the second Canon. Thanks be to*

And if there be, in Indiana or Missouri, in Louisiana, Florida or Arkansas, some scattered handfuls here and there of Churchmen—or if, obedient to the Saviour's mandate, to preach the Gospel unto every creature, we send our heralds of the Cross to China, Texas, Persia, Georgia, or Armenia—upon what principle can we neglect, or on what ground can we refuse,—since from their feebleness and poverty they cannot have a Bishop of their own, or in their ignorant blindness, they do not desire it,—to send to them, at our own cost and charge, and in the Saviour's name, a Missionary Bishop?

Brethren, THE FIELD IS THE WHOLE WORLD. To every soul of man, in every part of it, the Gospel is to be preached. Everywhere, the Gospel is to be preached *by, through, and in* the Church. To Bishops, as successors of the Apostles, the promise of the Lord was given to be with His Church, "alway, to the end of the world." Upon Bishops, as successors of the Apostles, the perpetuation of the Christian ministry depends. With Bishops, as successors of the Apostles, the government of the Church, the preaching of the word, the administration of the sacraments, the care of souls, has been entrusted. Without Bishops, as successors of the Apostles, there is no warrant, and for fifteen hundred years from Christ there was no precedent, for the establishment of the extension of the Church. Professing these things, act accordingly. "Freely ye have received, freely give." Open your eyes to the wants, open your ears to the cry, open your hands for the relief, of a perishing world. Send *the Gospel*. Send it, as you have received it, *in the Church*. Send out, to preach the Gospel, and to build the Church,—to every portion of your own broad land, to every stronghold of the Prince of Hell, to every den and nook and lurking place of heathendom, a Missionary Bishop!

IV. But loud as is the call for this provision, imperative as is our duty to respond to it, *is it consistent with the order, and the genius of this Church to do so?* Yes, my beloved brethren, yes! And if it were not so, it were no Church for us. If it were not so, it were no Church

God, it was provided at the last General Convention—which must be known hereafter as the Missionary Convention—that, on the request of any diocese, however few its parishes or presbyters, the House of Bishops may proceed to nominate a Bishop, who, if duly confirmed by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, or in the recess of the General Convention, by the several Standing Committees, may be consecrated the Bishop of that diocese. This provision, with the Canon for Missionary Bishops, completes the organization of the Church for the great ends of permanence and increase. The work will now begin at the right end. The Bishop may go out, as Titus went to Crete, "to ordain elders in every city." Dioceses will not be tempted to unseemly efforts to make apparent the canonical quota of parishes and presbyters. Bishops in new dioceses will not of necessity be elected under circumstances the most unfavourable to the best result of that most important transaction. The united wisdom of the fathers of the Church will be exerted for the protection of its infant members. The incipient measures in each diocese, on which so much depends, may be taken under the best auspices. The Clergy in distant and unsettled regions will enjoy episcopal oversight.

of Christ. That could not be the Saviour's awful and beloved spouse, which had no heart to feel for, or no hand to feed, the hungry souls for whom He died. That could not be the Saviour's body which did not bear to each remotest limb, the care, the consolation, and the saving grace of its ascended and triumphant Head. Thank God, it is not, and it never has been, so with us! As from the first, so in all after ages, it has still been competent for the Church of Christ to emulate her Saviour's holy love, in sending out Apostles to the multitudes that wander and are faint, as sheep who have no shepherd. It is of the nature of a *trust*, that there be always given with it authority and power for the due execution of all its proper uses. It is still farther of the nature of a trust, that, on its acceptance, there devolves on the *trustee* the bounden duty to secure, so far as in him lies, its full and faithful execution. Now THE GOSPEL is *God's gift, in trust*, for the conversion and salvation of lost man. THE CHURCH is His *Trustee*.—Admirably indeed is she prepared and fitted for her trust. She is *divinely instituted*. Were she of *human* origin, she would be, like man, uncertain and capricious. She is of God, and like Him cannot fail, and never will betray. Were she a *voluntary* institution, she might cease without a miracle, for want of members. But God is wiser than men; and membership in His Church is thus made part of the plan of salvation. "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."⁹ "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved."¹⁰—To discharge the duties of a *continual* trust, the trustee of necessity must have continuance. The Church is, by divine appointment, *perpetual by succession* in the highest order of her ministry. "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth."¹¹ "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you."¹² "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."¹³—The Gospel is to be preached *to every creature*; and co-extensive with this trust is the intended influence of the trustee. "Go ye therefore into all the world, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them." The kingdoms of this world shall all become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ.¹⁴ In other words, the Church of Christ is to become *universal*. And thus, in the capacities and powers essential to the execution of her

⁹St. Matthew xxviii. 19.

¹⁰St. Mark xvi. 16.

¹¹St. Matthew xxviii. 18.

¹²St. John xx. 21.

¹³St. Matthew xxviii. 20.

¹⁴Revelation xi. 15.

trust, is God's trustee, the Church, shown to be "perfect and entire, wanting nothing."

Thence of necessity,—in strict agreement with that wise and equitable rule, "unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required,"¹⁵—flow out *resulting trusts*, immense in value, and of infinite responsibility. She is to be a *Missionary Church*—"to the intent that now," not only to all men, but "unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God."¹⁶ Her *Bishops* are *Apostles*, each, in his proper sphere, sent out to "feed the Church of God." Jointly, and in agreement with established principles of order in the Church, they have the power which Christ imparted to the twelve—"as my Father sent me, even so send I you"—to send Apostles in His name. Her *Ministers* are all *Evangelists*, or preachers of glad tidings,—to go wherever God shall call them, through His Church, to bear the blessed tidings of salvation, through the blood of Jesus for a ruined world. Her *members*, baptized into the death of Jesus, and so purchased by His blood, are *Missionaries* all, in spirit and intent; to go, or—if themselves go not—to see that others go; and to contribute faithfully and freely of the ability which God shall give them, to sustain them while they go, and "preach the Gospel unto every creature."

Such, beloved brethren, as the Scripture teaches, and as reason,—justified in all the works of God, and not least clearly in His Church,—most fully and abundantly confirms, is the original, the permanent, the immutable constitution of the Christian Church. Such, by the solemn act of its highest legislative council, is declared to be the Constitution of this Church. Baptized into her, in the name of the eternal Three in One, you become a *party to the trust* with which she is honoured by her heavenly Head, to preach the everlasting Gospel. It is a trust which *no man is free to decline*—for, "unless a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."¹⁷ It is a trust which *no man who has once assumed it can put off*—for his baptismal vow is registered in heaven, and will go with him, in its consequences of unmingled bliss or woe, throughout all eternity. It is a trust which *no man who is permitted to assume it, can, without eternal ruin to his soul, neglect*—for if "any man love not his brother,"—and surely he can never claim to love him, who takes no care for his immortal soul,—*"if any man love not his brother whom he hath*

¹⁵St. Luke xii. 48.

¹⁶Ephesians iii. 10.

¹⁷St. John iii. 5.

seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen."¹⁸ "Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these ye did it not unto me. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal."¹⁹

Brethren beloved, think upon these things. It has pleased the Lord to make you partakers of salvation, through the Gospel of His Son. Its law of universal love should be engraven on your hearts. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."²⁰ "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also upon the things of others."²¹ "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."²² "Love," my brethren, "is the fulfilling of the law."²³ The mark and measure of the love of Jesus Christ for us was shown upon the Cross, in the outpouring of His precious blood. How shall we bear to stand before that bleeding Saviour, when He cometh in the glory of His Father, with the holy angels, if, from our neglect to go, if we are ministers,—if, from our neglect to give, and strive, and pray, if we are members of His Church,—there be one to say, in that dread hour, whom our ministry, our bounty, or our prayers, might have redeemed, through Christ, from death, "No man cared for my soul."²⁴

Beloved brethren, it is recorded of the holy Saviour, as He went about among the cities and villages of Judea, preaching the Gospel of the kingdom, that when He saw the multitudes, He was moved with compassion on them, "because they fainted and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd. Then saith He unto His disciples, the harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth labourers into his harvest."²⁵ "And when He had called unto Him His twelve disciples," he sent them "to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," to go and preach, saying, "the kingdom of heaven is at hand."²⁶ Behold, dear brethren, in the service which assembles us this day, the result of God's especial blessing on the Church's holy emulation of her Saviour's love. Like Him, and in the pathway which His blessed footsteps traced with tears and blood, the Church has gone about

¹⁸St. John iv. 20.

¹⁹St. Matthew xxv. 45, 46.

²⁰St. Matthew vii. 12.

²¹Philippians ii. 4.

²²Galatians vi. 2.

²³Romans xiii. 10.

²⁴Psalms cxlii. 4.

²⁵St. Matthew ix. 36-38.

²⁶St. Matthew x. 1, 6, 7.

among the villages and cities of this broad and sinful land. Everywhere she has found ignorant to instruct, mourners to comfort, rebels to reclaim, sinners to save. Everywhere she has had need for all the means with which her Saviour has entrusted her, to spread abroad His everlasting Gospel. But the West, the vast and distant and unsettled West, has fixed her eye, and agonized her heart. There indeed has she beheld great multitudes that fainted with the burden of the weary way, and wandered, cheerless and uncared for, as "sheep that have no shepherd." There indeed has she beheld the wily serpent and the prowling wolf, and wept with bitter tears that she could do no more to guard her Saviour's lambs. Moved with compassion, she bethought her of her Saviour's precept. "The harvest truly is plenteous but the labourers are few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth labourers into His harvest."

Encouraged thus by the divine assurance, she betook herself to prayer. She besought the Lord to have compassion, as He once had in the days of His suffering flesh, upon His erring sheep. She besought Him by His "agony and bloody sweat," His "cross and passion," His "precious death and burial," not to give up His heritage to the heathen, nor His people to reproach. With strong crying and tears, she supplicated the gracious Lord of that abundant harvest, white and bending to the sickle, that He would "send forth labourers into His harvest." He graciously inclined His ear and heard her prayer. He poured upon her members the abundance of His grace, and shed His love abroad in the hearts of His believing people. He was present by His divine and Holy Spirit, in the council of His Church, as He had been in the councils of the Apostles. He harmonized all hearts. He opened and illuminated, with the light from heaven, the eyes of all their minds. He lifted up the hands that hung down, and gave energy and vigour to the feeble knees. He suggested wisdom, He imparted courage, He communicated strength. Above all, He sent His Holy Ghost, and poured into their hearts "that most excellent gift of charity, the very bond of peace and of all virtues"; and so enabled them, *as but one man*, to contrive, digest, mature, propose, accomplish, and carry into practice the great Missionary work, that here, this day, with the whole Church to applaud, and God from heaven, by the clear shining of that glorious sun, smiling consent, we have come up before His altar, to present the first fruit of the Saviour's answer to His Church's agonizing prayer for her lost sheep in the vast West,—her first—God grant that it need not long be said!—her only, Missionary Bishop.

Brethren, it is the pledge of God that He will hear, that He will bless, that He will save His Church, placed thus upon the vantage ground of Christendom, and made—I speak it without the fear of contradiction—the Missionary Church of the whole world. It is your pledge, my brethren, that you will go on, as you have now begun, in the benign and blessed impulse of that Missionary spirit which God has poured upon His Church. Brethren in the Episcopate, it is our pledge, laid up in heaven, that we will go, as Jesus went, to seek and save the lost and dying sheep. Brethren of the parochial Clergy, it is your pledge, that you will do your utmost, “praying with all supplication of the Spirit,” to bring your people, one and all, to sustain us in the work which God has given us to do. Brethren of the Laity, shall it not be your pledge, that from this time forward, true as the day returns, to bring you rest from all your toil, and spiritual comfort in God’s holy house, you will “lay by in store” such portion of His blessing as you shall justly think you owe to Him who saved your souls, and consecrate it, as a *Missionary offering*, to save, through Christ, the souls of other men? God of our salvation, be Thou witness, on Thy throne in heaven, to the sincerity of our united pledge! Write it in Thy book! Write it in our hearts! And send Thy Holy Ghost, to make us perfect in every good word and work, to do in all things Thy most blessed will!

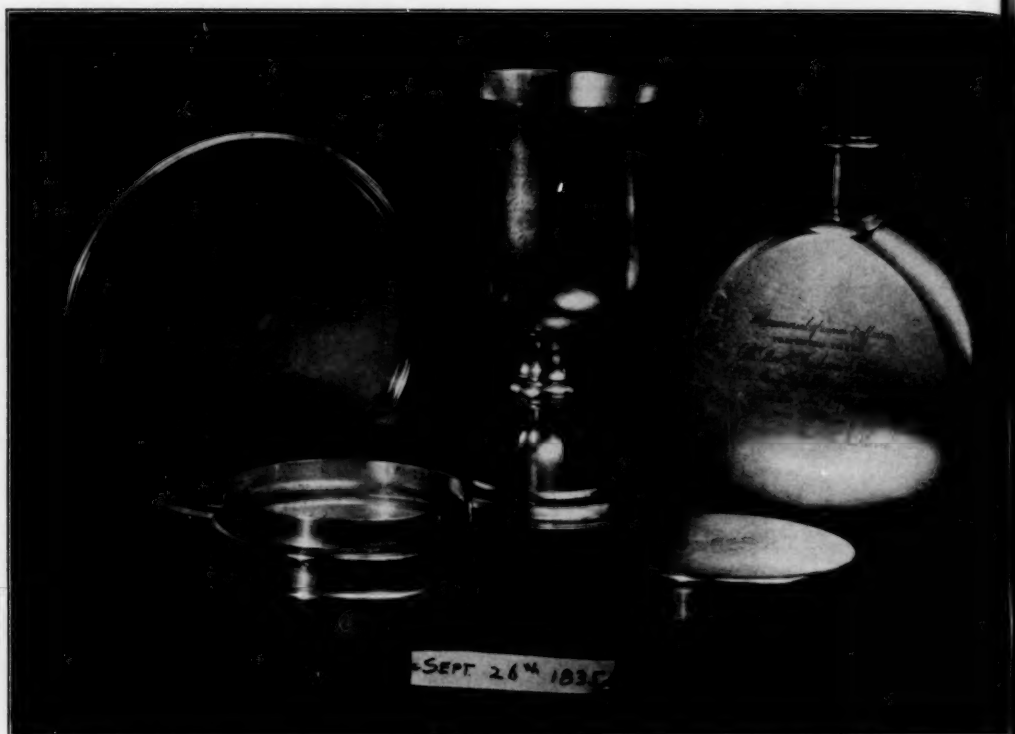
Beloved brother, from the work to which the Lord, we trust, has called you, I may keep you back no longer. You are to go out, in the Saviour’s name, *the first Missionary Bishop* of this Church. Going with the office, go in the spirit, of an Apostle! You are to preach the gospel of salvation to a ruined world. You are to bear “the ministry of reconciliation” to sinful men, the enemies of God, and of their own souls, by wicked works. Like the Apostle Paul, preach to them “Christ crucified.” Like the Apostle Paul, beseech them in Christ’s stead, “be ye reconciled to God.” Like the Apostle Paul, remind them that without holiness, no man shall see the Lord; and implore them, “by the mercies of God,” that they present their bodies, “a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to Him, which is their reasonable service.”—Fear not, dear brother, though the load be heavy, and the way be long. He who hath called you, will give you strength to run the noble race which He has set before you; and, if you are but faithful unto death, will crown you with eternal life.—Fear not, dear brother, though there be many that oppose themselves, and set their battle in array to turn you back from the thrice glorious onset. They that are with you are more than they that are with them; and he

who fighteth upon God's side bears victory and triumph on his banner.—Fear not, dear brother, though the fainting flesh and sinking spirit admonish you how frail the earthen vessel is in which you bear this precious burthen. The God you serve is greater than your heart; and, like the Apostle Paul, with Christ to strengthen you, you can do all things.—Fear not, dear brother, though fatigue and care and sickness may molest, and death, too early for the Church, cut off your work of love. It was through suffering and toil and shame that Jesus went to purchase for us pardon and eternal peace, and on the Cross He poured His soul out for us, with His blood. Remember, "it is a faithful saying," if we suffer, we shall also reign, and if we die, we shall forever live with Him. Blessed, glorious assurance! Welcome, in Jesus' name, the tears, the toil, the blood! Welcome, for Jesus' sake, the shame, the agony, the death! If we suffer, we shall also reign—if we die, it is to live with Him!—Beloved brother, go!

Go, bear, before a ruined world, the Saviour's bleeding Cross.
Go, feed, with bread from heaven, the Saviour's hungering Church.
Go, thrice beloved, go, and God the Lord go with you!

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PRIVATE COMMUNION SET USED BY BISHOP KEMPER ON HIS MISSIONARY VISITATIONS, NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS GRANDSON, THE REVEREND WILLIAM POYNTELL KEMPER, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. JOHN'S PARISH, KINGSTON, NEW YORK, BY WHOM THIS PHOTOGRAPH WAS SUPPLIED.

The inscription reads as follows:

A memorial of esteem & affection

PRESENTED TO THE

R^t Rev^d Jackson Kemper, D.D.

Miss^y Bishop of the P. E. Church

by members of S^t Paul's Parish

Lexington K^y through their

Rector the Rev^d H. I. Leacock

For eleven years (1835-1846), "his saddle-bags contained his worldly goods,—his robes, his *communion service*, his Bible and his Prayer Book."

KEMPER'S MISSIONARY EPISCOPATE: 1835-1859

By Edward Rochie Hardy, Jr., Ph.D.

ON Friday, September 25th, some three weeks after the adjournment of the General Convention of 1835, Kemper was consecrated to the episcopate. The service took place in St. Peter's Church Philadelphia, where, twenty-four years before, he had been ordained to the diaconate. The consecrator was William White, from whom he had received both of the lower sacred orders. This was to be the last of Bishop White's consecrations, which at this time included the whole American episcopate. Of the other bishops who took part in the service and joined in the laying on of hands, Chase of Illinois and Smith of Kentucky represented the western region to which Kemper was being sent. Moore of Virginia and the two brothers Onderdonk, the diocesan of New York and the Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania, represented the two main groups in the Church, united in their interest in its missionary expansion. Bishop Doane of New Jersey, who had taken so prominent a part in the reorganization of the Missionary Society and the establishment of the office of Missionary Bishop, was suitably chosen as the preacher. His subject was the office of Missionary Bishop,—its necessity, its scriptural and historic authority, its special importance at the present day, its harmony with the spirit of the Protestant Episcopal Church,—for

If it were not so, it were no Church of Christ. That could not be the Saviour's lawful and beloved spouse, which had no heart to feel for, or no hand to feed, the hungry souls for whom he died.

He closed with the words:

Beloved brother, go! Go, bear, before a ruined world, the Saviour's bleeding Cross. Go, feed, with bread from heaven, the Saviour's hungering Church. Go, thrice beloved, go, and God the Lord go with you!¹

¹George Washington Doane, *The Missionary Bishop: The Sermon at the Consecration of the Right Reverend Jackson Kemper, D.D., Missionary Bishop for Missouri and Indiana, Burlington, N. J., 1835*, 56 pp.; quotations from pp. 20 and 30; record of the consecration on pp. 54-55.

With little delay Kemper proceeded to go. Having received assurance of support, and with the Rev. S. R. Johnson as travelling companion, he left Philadelphia on November 3rd. His children were left with relatives in that city; for the next eleven years Kemper was to have no permanent home. At Pittsburgh, Kemper and Johnson were received hospitably by the Rev. George Upfold, rector of Trinity Church. On Sunday, November 8th, Kemper preached twice; on the following evening he, Johnson, and Upfold spoke at a missionary meeting at which nearly \$150 was raised. Such programs were to be Kemper's lot for many years. The next day he and his companion took ship for Cincinnati, pausing there on the 13th to visit the clergy of that city. Shortly after midnight Kemper had entered his diocese and stood on the floating dock at Madison, Indiana.²

His previous trips west of the Alleghenies and continued interest had left Kemper no stranger to the situation and needs of the Church in that part of the country. The state of the Church in Indiana and Missouri, to which he was now sent as Bishop, has often been summarized, beginning with his own reports,—in Indiana one clergyman and no church building, in Missouri one church building, but no clergyman. Indiana, admitted to the Union in 1816, had grown rapidly in population from 60 to 500 thousand. The Episcopal Church had been represented by a disreputable *clericus vagans* who made two appearances at Vincennes, by visiting clergy who had officiated and discovered Episcopalians and possible fields for the Church in the towns along the Ohio, and by a solitary missionary who had attempted to organize parishes in 1823-5, but had withdrawn in discouragement. Earlier in 1835 the Missionary Society had sent a deacon to Indianapolis. Missouri, admitted as a state with some 66 thousand inhabitants in 1820, now had in the neighborhood of 300 thousand. In the old city of St. Louis, Christ Church had been organized in 1819. Most of the time since there had been one or two clergy in the State. Christ Church had completed its first building in 1830, but no permanent foundation had been established elsewhere. At the time of Kemper's election the parish was vacant. He was elected to the rectorship, and secured the Rev. Peter Minard as his assistant.³ In both of these states other Protestant churches had become well-established, while the Roman Catholics were making a good showing with carefully planted institutions, and already had a Bishop and a cathedral at St. Louis.

²On Kemper's journeys, 1835-8, see his triennial report in *The Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 3, 1838, pp. 225-232; on this trip, letter of S. R. Johnson in *The Missionary*, Burlington, New Jersey, Vol. 1, 1835.

³Summaries of early history of the Church in Indiana and Missouri in *Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 2, 1837, pp. 71-75, 77-80.

We left Kemper shivering on the dock at Madison. The next morning, one Mr. Lea, an Episcopalian from Maryland, introduced him to the Church families of the town. Fifteen years before, when services had been held there, a majority of the inhabitants were favorable to the Church; there were still about ten definitely Church families. On Sunday, November 15th, Kemper and Johnson preached, in churches loaned for the occasion. Going to Lawrenceburgh, which he reached by boat at 2 A. M., Kemper was entertained by the local Congressman, met the Episcopalians, and preached to them. On November 19th he and his companion arrived at Louisville, Kentucky. From here as a center, they visited towns across the river,—New Albany and Jeffersonville,—conducting services on the 22nd. In all the places visited good prospects for the Church were seen, and plans made for organizing parishes. The approach of winter made it necessary to hurry on if St. Louis was to be reached. After a slow trip by boat on the Ohio, the Mississippi was found to be frozen, and

it is said passengers are engaged for the stages a fortnight ahead, on account of the number seeking passage who are disappointed by the ice.⁴

Finally on December 19th Kemper and Johnson reached St. Louis.

having rode . . . a part of the way in an open waggon with their trunks for seats, passing through a marsh called *Purgatory*, and crossing a river named *Embarras*, and being allowed time for but one meal in the 24 hours.⁵

For several months Kemper kept his headquarters at St. Louis, making trips from there up the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. Bishop Chase having gone to England to plead for donations for Jubilee College, Kemper at his request made several visits in Illinois, officiating and performing episcopal functions. In the summer he was back in the East,—for money. He had already come to the conviction that the only hope of supplying the West with clergy was to provide means for their training in that part of the country. Although he improved the occasion of his visit East to make contacts at the General and Virginia Seminaries and at Washington (Trinity) College, his main purpose on this occasion was to raise funds for an institution to be founded in Missouri. The news had already trickled through that he was making a good impression "at the far West" and, after initial disappointments, \$20,000 was raised, enough to guarantee a beginning.⁶

⁴Narrative in Johnson's letter cited above.

⁵*The Missionary*, Vol. 2, 1836, p. 12.

⁶In addition to Kemper's report, cf. *The Missionary*, Vol. 2, pp. 60, 174, 179.

In the fall Kemper returned to St. Louis, where a board of trustees for the proposed foundation was organized. In December he started visiting in Indiana, where several missionaries were now at work, while Johnson, whose private means of support made him independent of the Board of Missions, was organizing a parish at Lafayette. The rigors of the winter, and a call to join Bishops McIlvaine and Otey in "efforts to restore peace to the diocese of Kentucky" kept him away longer than he had expected. Meanwhile the legislature of Missouri had objected to the name "Missouri College," in view of a possible state university. Consequently the charter was passed on January 6, 1837, with the name "Kemper College" attached. Probably the layman who had the business in hand regarded Kemper as the promoter of the institution, or else merely took his name as that of the first trustee on the list. After spending a short time in St. Louis, to give Minard a little rest, and catch up with his correspondence, Kemper made a brief trip East, hoping to secure some of the year's seminary graduates for the missions and his college. Of this he hoped the first installment would be a school modelled after Muhlenberg's Christian Institute at Flushing. In May he was again at St. Louis, laying the cornerstone of a new building for Christ Church. At Crawfordsville, Indiana, a convocation of the clergy was held and the cornerstone of the first Episcopal Church in that state was laid. The summer was devoted to encouraging visits through Indiana, which only a few years before Bishop Chase had declared to be forever lost to the Church:

we trust, through Divine grace, to prove, in the course of a few years, that if Indiana was ever lost to the Church, SHE IS REGAINED.⁷

But none of the seminary graduates of the year came to Kemper's aid, and several of his missionary clergy left. Another month was devoted to the affairs of the diocese of Kentucky, whose difficulties were now settled.⁸

The fall of 1837 Kemper spent in Missouri. A convocation of the clergy was held at Fayette, while a western tour carried the Bishop over the borders of the State. At Fort Leavenworth he baptized an officer's child,—at a point, as the father observed, 1,600 miles from the ocean, and 1,600 miles from the head of navigation on the Missouri. With this visit one might say that the Episcopal Church had at last

⁷*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 2, p. 265.

⁸*Greenough White, An Apostle of the Western Church, Memoir of the Right Reverend Jackson Kemper . . . with Notices of Some of His Contemporaries.* New York, 1900, xvi—231 pp.; p. 87.

caught up with the advancing frontier, since now one of its Bishops had stood at the edge of the Indian territory, as it was then being constituted, and discussed the possibility of work among the Indians. Of this and earlier trips in Missouri, Kemper writes:

I have now experienced a little of western adventure, and really entered into it with much more spirit and enjoyment than I could have imagined. . . . Shall I tell you how we were benighted and how we lost our way, of the deep creeks we forded and the bad bridges we crossed—how we were drenched to the skin and how we were wading for half an hour in a slough, and the accidents which arose from the stumbling of our horses, &c? But these events were matters of course. We had daily cause for thankfulness and praise. . . . What a proof of the sluggishness of our movements is the fact that, so far as I can learn, I am the first clergyman of our Church who has preached at Columbia, Boonville, Fayette, Richmond, Lexington, Independence and Fort Leavenworth—in a word, I have been the pioneer from St. Charles up the Missouri! At several places I met with some Episcopalians; but in every place I found immortal and intelligent beings—everywhere I beheld extensive harvests with very few reapers.⁹

The lack of clergy to meet the openings that are available, or even to occupy the stations that have once been established, is his constant complaint.

In January, 1838, Kemper had agreed to travel with Bishop Otey through the southwest, where several dioceses had been organized, but all were without Bishops. Otey's illness required Kemper to carry out this trip alone. It was extended to Florida, and lasted until May, returning through Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana; eight churches were consecrated, two priests were ordained, confirmation was held in most of the parishes visited, and services conducted in a number of places where no Episcopalian clergyman had ever been before. The diocesan organization of Florida and Louisiana and the regular provision of episcopal supervision for this part of the country were among the more remote results of this visit.¹⁰

On his return to St. Louis, Kemper found the affairs of the north calling for attention. The convocation of the clergy of Indiana met in June, and decided to call a convention to organize as a diocese in August. The primary convention of the diocese of Indiana met on August 24th; there were then nine clergy and nine congregations in the diocese.¹¹

⁹*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 3, 1838, p. 74.

¹⁰*Reported by Otey in Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 3, 1838, pp. 265-280.

¹¹*Indiana Convention Journal*, 1838.

In the interval Kemper had visited what was to become the center of his activities,—the territory, as it then was, of Wisconsin. His connection with Wisconsin went back some years. In the summer of 1834 he had paid a visit of inspection to Green Bay on behalf of the Missionary Society. The church had been responsible since 1825 for an Indian school at this settlement, of which the Rev. Richard F. Cadle had been in charge since 1827. Planned as a boarding school on a rather elaborate scale, it was expected to be a center of influence among the then numerous Indians of that area. A parish had been organized in the town in 1829. The school, always subject to financial difficulties, lost its constituency when the government policy of moving Indians west of the Mississippi was adopted. A less pretentious work was carried on among the Oneidas, who had been moved from New York to Duck Creek, under the Rev. Solomon Davis, who had been prominent in securing a satisfactory arrangement of their difficulties with the government.¹² In 1836 when Wisconsin was politically separated from Michigan, the Green Bay vestry, assuming that this would also separate them from that diocese, asked to be put in Kemper's jurisdiction. Bishop McCoskry of Michigan, then recently consecrated, objected to this, with the result that the ecclesiastical status of the territory remained uncertain for two years. It was now arranged that Kemper should visit the territory at McCoskry's formal request, leaving the matter of jurisdiction to be settled by the General Convention.¹³

Settlement was now rapidly beginning along the shore of Lake Michigan, along the Mississippi, and in the southern part of the territory. Cadle, having left Green Bay, where the school was being gradually reduced with a view to its eventual closing, had been officiating in the settlements along the Mississippi. Earlier in 1838 a missionary had been sent to "Milwaukie" and a parish organized. Kemper's visits included a number of places where no previous efforts had been made.¹⁴

When Kemper came to the General Convention of 1838, he could report probably as active and effective a three-years' work as any American bishop has ever had. In the two states of which he had been put in charge, clergy were now stationed and parishes organized and preparations for the attainment of full diocesan status were under way. In addition, Kemper had prepared for the organization

¹²Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., "Early Episcopalianism in Wisconsin" (Kemper's journal on his trip in 1834, and documents relating to Green Bay Church and Mission) in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIV, Madison, 1898, pp. 394-515—history of mission summarized in notes on pp. 411-412, 450-451; Oneida petition in *Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 3, 1838, pp. 1-4.

¹³*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 1, 1836, pp. 171-172; Vol. 3, 1838, p. 231.

¹⁴*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 3, 1838, pp. 295-6, 381-2.

of the Church in large areas of the south and southwest, and surveyed the field in the new territories of which the settlement was then beginning. The convention formally placed Wisconsin and Iowa under his charge, together with the Indian Territory north of latitude 36°30'. Since everything west of Iowa (organized as a territory in 1838, and including Minnesota) was Indian Territory, this made Kemper what he soon came to be called,—Missionary Bishop of the Northwest. Sure of his vocation to his missionary work, he declined the election as Bishop of Maryland which was offered him at this time.¹⁵ It must be admitted, however, that the Church gave Kemper much more confidence than support either in men or money. The panic of 1837 had aggravated matters by providing the kind of crisis in religious enterprises with which we have been familiar in more recent depressions. At a meeting in that year Bishop Doane had

forcibly expressed the sentiment that the present exigencies of the times ought not to affect, in an unfavorable manner, the Missionary work of the Church.

But naturally this hope was in vain: in November, 1838, the report of the treasurer for domestic missions was

In four months, received \$5129.17; paid out, \$8231.22.¹⁶

As Bishop Kemper's journeys began to have somewhat more of the character of episcopal visitations and somewhat less that of evangelizing tours, and as the means of transportation in the Middle West improved, his movements became more rapid. A topical order will therefore be more in place than the chronological which has been followed for the first triennium of his episcopate. His attention was first turned after the adjournment of General Convention to his new responsibility for the Indians. The approaching discontinuance of the Green Bay school and mission roused churchmen to the possibility of discharging their responsibility to the original Americans further west. A report that a group of Senecas, settled in the Indian Territory west of Missouri, preserved some remnants of the Christianity they had been taught by missionaries of the S. P. G. in New York roused the interest of the Church. The Rev. H. Gregory was appointed to spend some months as chaplain at Fort Leavenworth, meanwhile surveying possible openings for Indian work. Accompanied by Gregory, Kemper left New York for the west on October 8th. In November they carried out their visit to the Senecas, travelling 250

¹⁵Cf. resolutions in this connection of the vestry of Christ Church, St. Louis, in *White, Apostle of the Western Church*, pp. 93-94.

¹⁶*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 2, 1837, p. 229; Vol. 3, 1838, p. 371.

miles each way from Boonville, Missouri, over almost uninhabited country. One night was spent in a log-cabin

in which there was no window, but many a crevice that transmitted no uncertain or imperceptible sign of the contention among the elements without. At their meals they were obliged to sit with open door in order to obtain light.

Where they stayed on the following night:

In the middle of the room, which they occupied *in part*, lay a heap of snow which did not melt in the slightest degree.¹⁷

There were, unfortunately, no permanent results from these efforts. The Senecas had lapsed from long neglect, although some of their leaders had maintained lay-reading services until only a few years before. Gregory's final report from Fort Leavenworth made no definite recommendations, finding few possible openings which were not already being taken advantage of by other denominations.¹⁸ An ambitious scheme of establishing an Indian diocese with its own missionary bishop to inaugurate work in the Indian Territory came to nothing. The first beginnings of the Church's work among the Indians west of the Mississippi were to be made under Bishop Kemper's auspices, but not for a good many years. The one active contact with Indians anywhere was the Oneida Mission, where Kemper consecrated Hobart Church on September 2, 1839, the first consecrated church building in Wisconsin.¹⁹

On his return to Missouri in the fall of 1838, Kemper had found that the college so unintentionally named after him was at last open, Minard and others having begun the Grammar School, which was to be the first division of the institution. "There are a few of us," he writes,

"who look to this institution as the means, under God, of producing great things for the Church throughout the immense valley of the Mississippi. In the sacred work of making known the riches of the grace that is in Christ Jesus our Lord, we can do comparatively nothing until natives of the soil are prepared within our own bounds for the ministry."

A Christian school would doubtless raise up candidates for such training.²⁰ Three years later a building had been built, although a con-

¹⁷*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 4, 1839, pp. 29-30.

¹⁸*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 5, 1840, pp. 5-20.

¹⁹*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 9, 1844, pp. 137-9; Vol. 4, 1839, p. 368; contract and bills for building in *Thwaites*, op. cit., pp. 505-515.

²⁰*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 3, 1838, pp. 379-380.

siderable debt was incurred in doing so, and college classes had been begun.²¹ The Rev. S. A. Crane, the first president, was succeeded by the Rev. E. C. Hutchinson in November, 1841, under whom the institution progressed.²² The Rev. Henry Caswall arrived in the same fall as Professor of Divinity, but his actual duties were those of a college chaplain, no theological students having yet appeared.²³ In 1842-3 the college catalogue listed 2 seniors, 3 juniors, 3 sophomores, 11 freshmen, 36 in the preparatory department, and 75 in a rather mysterious medical department.²⁴ Meanwhile the diocese of Missouri had been organized in November, 1840.²⁵ New stations continued to be opened and additional churches were founded in St. Louis; but the difficulty of getting clergy led to long vacancies in all the stations outside of St. Louis County. In 1840 Kemper resigned the rectorship of Christ Church, St. Louis.²⁶

In Iowa the first missionary made his appearance at Burlington in April, 1839, while an army chaplain represented the Church at Fort Snelling in what is now Minnesota.²⁷ Openings were available in each of the main towns as they were settled, but only too often Kemper appealed in vain for men; Iowa

presents a most noble field for the heralds of the cross, but²⁸
as yet they will not come to the western banks of the Mississippi.

In Indiana the often heartbreaking task of trying to keep the old missions filled while founding new ones whenever possible continued. Several efforts were made to obtain a diocesan bishop. Kemper himself was elected to the office in 1841, but declined, saying that

were there not . . . many and great duties connected with the Episcopate to which the whole Church had called him, and which were yet unaccomplished, he could not deny so sacred and useful a station.²⁹

It was in Wisconsin that new and significant developments took place in these years. Kemper's repeated visits to the eastern semi-

²¹*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 6, 1841, pp. 86-87; plate opposite p. 94.

²²(J. O'Fallon and others), *A Statement of Facts in Reply to the Allegations of Certain Presbyters of St. Louis against the Rev. E. Carter Hutchinson and His Friends in Regard to the Affairs of Kemper College and Other Matters*, St. Louis, 1847, 64 pp.; pp. 26, 33-34.

²³Cf. note on Caswall's career, p. 239 below; Henry Caswall, *America and the American Church*, London, 1851, xii-400 pp.; pp. 307-310.

²⁴*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 8, 1843, pp. 98-101.

²⁵*Missouri Convention Journal*, 1840.

²⁶*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 7, 1842, pp. 363-364; Vol. 5, 1840, p. 326.

²⁷*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 4, 1839, pp. 166-7, 234.

²⁸*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 8, 1843, p. 449.

²⁹*Indiana Convention Journal*, 1841, p. 39.

naries had seemed for a long time to be without fruit. In May, 1840, he paid a visit to the General Seminary, which a letter from one of those present describes in the following terms:

Bishop Kemper was here, and addressed us on Friday night last. He gave very great satisfaction, and made us more proud of our "Missionary Bishop" than ever before. His two chief wants at the West are *means* and *men*: the first, to found seminaries of learning to be under the control of the Church; the second, laborers to assist him in preaching the Gospel. The good bishop spoke very plainly respecting the kind of men he wanted, the burthen of which was—self-denying men willing to go there and endure every species of hardship for the sake of Christ and His Church.³⁰

In a manner probably quite unexpected, this appeal harmonized with the generous dreams which were moving some of the young men of Chelsea Square under the influence of the Oxford Movement. Professor Whittingham, Bishop-elect of Maryland, had been looked up to as a leader by the tractarians of the Seminary, and it was to him that they went with their plan of a "Society of Protestant Monks." The scheme, formed by six or eight of the Middle Class, was for a group to go out to work under Bishop Kemper, teaching and preaching, living under one roof,

constituted into a *Religious House*, under a superior. Thus, and thus only, it is believed, can the Romanist be made to feel sensibly the power of the Church Catholic.³¹

Some of the original group dropped out, and others were kept home by their Bishops. Three persevered after their graduation and came out to Wisconsin in August, 1841—James Lloyd Breck, William Adams, and John Henry Hobart.

Kemper's idea of the work was primarily educational—the missionaries to be associated primarily in the work of training men for orders.³² The more exciting ideal of a religious house, although probably impractical at this time, moved the enthusiasm of the recruits. The rather mystified Richard Cadle, whom Kemper had assigned as temporary head of the mission, was referred to by his subordinates as "Prior." Work was at first begun in a number of stations reached from Prairieville (now Waukesha), taking over places

³⁰Letter of James Lloyd Breck, May 30, 1840, in Charles Breck, *The Life of the Reverend James Lloyd Breck, D.D.*, 3d ed., New York, 1886, xxii—557 pp.; pp. 7-8.

³¹W. F. Brand, *Life of William Rollinson Whittingham*, New York, 1886, 2 vols. Vol. 1, pp. 193-194; Breck, *op. cit.* p. 8.

³²Cf. letter of November 7, 1840, below, p. 228.

which Hull, the missionary at Milwaukee, had been visiting. In the following spring, Cadle left for more conventional missionary work elsewhere in the Territory, and Breck shortly became the head of the mission. Later that same year their headquarters were moved to Nashotah, where a semi-monastic life was established with a few students. After several changes, Breck was left as the only clerical member of the Brotherhood, although Adams returned in 1844 to teach in the institution. The common life was maintained, however, by enrolling the students as lay brothers. In February, 1844, there were 13 divinity students, 5 of them candidates. The first ordination took place in May, 1845—the Swede, Gustaf Unonius, ordained for the Scandinavian parish which had been formed in the neighborhood—and thereafter several were graduated each year.³³ The development would have been impossible without the continued support of Bishop Kemper, who seized every suitable opportunity for expressing his confidence in the Nashotah project, and sent candidates there whenever possible from the other parts of his jurisdiction as well as from Wisconsin.

The gradual increase of the Church kept up the arduousness of Kemper's journeys. Thus his schedule for 1842 called for spending March in Wisconsin, April in Indiana, May in Missouri and at the Indiana Convention; June and July were to be given to Missouri and Iowa; August, September and October to Wisconsin and Iowa; November to Missouri; December to Indiana.³⁴ His annual report in 1843 mentioned that in the year covered by it he had preached or spoken 221 times "in churches, school-houses, upper rooms, barns, etc. . . ."³⁵ His report of the following year summarizes the travels of twelve months. In June, 1843, he was in Indiana, then came East to attend the meetings of the Board of Missions and the Trustees of the General Seminary. In July he returned to make more visits in Indiana and attend the Kemper College Commencement. August was spent in Indiana and Iowa and on a visit to the upper Mississippi (the Bishop's first entrance into Minnesota). In September he visited Nashotah and other points in Wisconsin, attending towards the end of the month the Missouri Convention, at which important matters were taken up. October and part of November was given to a fruitless attempt to secure more recruits from the East. In December visits were made in Indiana and a flying trip taken to St. Louis; the rest of the winter was devoted to Wisconsin.

³³Breck, *op. cit.* pp. 19-52; Theodore I. Holcomb, *An Apostle of the Wilderness*, James Lloyd Breck, New York, 1903, xiv-195 pp.; pp. 7-18.

³⁴*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 7, 1842, p. 94.

³⁵*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 8, 1843, p. 300.

On the festival of our Lord's Resurrection, I preached three times in St. Louis, administered the Lord's Supper, and confirmed seven persons at St. Paul's, twenty-one at Christ Church, and fifteen at St. John's.

Further visits in Missouri followed, but most of May was spent at Kemper College, floods near St. Louis preventing departure for intended visits in Indiana. The number of sermons and lectures this year was 184, not counting Sunday School addresses and missionary meetings.³⁶

Relief was at last obtained in 1844. The Missouri Convention had decided in 1843 to elect its own Bishop, and chose the Rev. Cicero S. Hawkes. A number of changes in the diocese prevented it from having the required number of presbyters resident for a year, so that while Hawkes became rector of Christ Church, it was necessary to take advantage of a canonical provision then existing for such cases and request the General Convention of the following year to elect him as Bishop of the diocese. This was done, and with his consecration the first part of Kemper's extensive missionary territory acquired independent status.³⁷ By a coincidence most convenient to the historian, the election of diocesan Bishops for territories formerly included in Kemper's missionary jurisdiction was to follow at intervals of five years, thus dividing the remainder of his missionary episcopate into equal periods. The separation of Missouri was unhappily followed by an event most distressing to Bishop Kemper—the closing of Kemper College. At the commencement of 1844 it was apparently flourishing; all of the seniors and juniors were communicants, and two of the three graduates of the year had become candidates for Holy Orders.³⁸ Caswall, who had returned to England, had secured a donation of books for the library. But the burden of debt, and disagreements among the trustees, the new Bishop, and the President, led to Hutchinson's resignation and the collapse of the institution in the spring of 1845. Caswall's feeling that Kemper lacked interest in the college owing to its charter, which gave it his name but left the control in the hands of self-perpetuating trustees, does not seem to be justified. His reports of the years when it was in operation always speak of his visits to it as matters of encouragement. While he refrained, with his regard for propriety, from attempting to influence the affairs of the diocese of Missouri, he wrote in a private letter of 1846 that the end of the college "has almost broken my heart."³⁹

³⁶*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 9, 1844, pp. 274-279.

³⁷*Missouri Convention Journal*, 1843 and 1844; for the Canon (1 of 1835), cf. E. G. White, *Constitution and Canons*, New York, 1924, viii—1,061 pp.; p. 363.

³⁸*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 9, 1844, p. 316.

³⁹Caswall, *America and the American Church*, pp. 307-9; *Statement of Facts*, *passim*—letter quoted on p. 11.

The repercussions of the Oxford Movement and the opposition it aroused caused a certain amount of unpleasantness for Bishop Kemper. When the Indiana Convention met in June, 1844, rumors were being spread of Romanizing tendencies among the Bishop and his clergy. In comment he spoke of the duties of love and forbearance as specially binding

when reviling accusations are on every tongue and we are rapidly advancing in the high privilege of being persecuted, because we boldly, though I trust in meekness, maintain the faith as it was once delivered to the Saints. So long as we believe that Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite and necessary to salvation: so long as we prefer the interpretation of the Church of the living God . . . as it was recorded in the early creeds, the ordinal, the prayer book, and the thirty-nine articles to the crude and bold notions of modern divines—so long we may be confident that no weapon formed against us shall prosper.⁴⁰

There are references both to attacks within the Church and to increasing suspicion of popery on the part of those without. In 1846 the definite charge was being made that the Bishop's Puseyism and attempts to influence his clergy in that direction were the cause of the shortage of contributions for domestic missions. Kemper replied by asking the clergy of Indiana to write directly to the Secretary's office, reporting any such attempts on his part. Most of the letters written in consequence refer to the Bishop's lack of party spirit and the evangelical character of his sermons.

Kemper had been brought up in Trinity Church, New York, in the years of Hobart's parochial ministry. He had served for many years under Bishop White. There can be no doubt that he remained loyal throughout his life to the religion and theology learned in his youth. The watchword "Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order" represents what he sincerely believed and taught. Thus in 1845 he addressed the members of the Indiana Convention as "Catholics of the primitive stamp," holding to the doctrines of the Cross and the practice of the Book of Common Prayer, and expressed the hope that out of the troubles of the Church would come clearer

views of the great doctrines of grace, and of the inestimable privileges with the body of Christ.⁴¹

⁴⁰*Indiana Convention Journal, 1844, pp. 11-12.*

⁴¹*Indiana Convention Journals, 1845, pp. 7, 11.*

If he was a High Churchman, he belonged to the pre-tractarian period. If partisan Evangelicalism distressed him, so did any leanings towards Romanism. Sincere devotion among his subordinates received his full support, no matter from what side it came. At the trial of Bishop Onderdonk of New York, 1844-5, Kemper took his place as one of the judges (the trial of bishops being confided at this time to the entire House). There can be no doubt that Onderdonk was condemned for alleged immorality by those who had personal or doctrinal grounds of difference with him. Kemper's votes for acquittal and for the lightest possible sentence after conviction was obtained agree with the verdict of history. He counted himself afterwards among Bishop Onderdonk's friends, who did their best to secure his restoration.⁴²

Self-supporting parishes began to appear in Wisconsin after 1845. "Happy Milwaukee will require no more aid," was Kemper's comment on the first. Part of the winter of 1845-6 was spent at Milwaukee, where Kemper co-operated with the local rector in beginning a new parish.⁴³ In 1746 Kemper occupied a house near Nashotah, which was to be his residence for the rest of his life, and which at last enabled him to settle his family in the West. A son entered Nashotah, while a daughter was to become Mrs. Adams.⁴⁴ The reports of the next few years are encouraging. Nashotah was now regularly producing clergy for the western mission. Wisconsin, soon to become a state, became in 1847 a diocese, with 25 parishes and 23 clergy. In a population of some 150 thousand the Church counted nearly a thousand communicants. Numbers in Indiana were almost equal, although growth in Iowa was impeded by vacancies in several missions. In 1849 the Territory of Minnesota was organized, and Kemper began to look for missionaries for the new settlement there. In the same year George Upfold, who had entertained Kemper at Pittsburgh fourteen years before, was elected and consecrated Bishop of Indiana.⁴⁵

A convenient dividing point in Kemper's episcopate has now been reached, since his original territory (Indiana and Missouri) had achieved diocesan organization, and the remaining years were to open up still further new districts. Kemper's life at home, for such periods as he was there, has been described on the basis of family reminiscences, which deserve inclusion in this article:

He rose early, at five o'clock in summer and six in winter, and attributed his established health in large measure to his habitual morning bath in cold water. . . . At a

⁴²Cf. letter of November 13, 1849, published below, p. 229.

⁴³*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 11, 1848, pp. 7, 279-284.

⁴⁴White, *Apostle of the Western Church*, p. 113.

⁴⁵Kemper's annual reports; *Indiana and Wisconsin Convention Journals*.

quarter before seven he had family prayers, and at seven breakfasted, always taking two cups of coffee with a great deal of sugar. . . . The rest of the morning he spent in his study, preparing for official duties, attending to his correspondence, making up his accounts, and reading. He made it a rule to read daily in his Greek Testament and in some solid book, preferably of divinity, and generally found time to do some light reading beside, making it a point to keep up with the news of the day through journals and reviews. He enjoyed books of humor [but did not care much for novels] . . .

At one o'clock he dined with his family and frequently had guests. . . . In memory of White, he always had his candidates dine with him immediately after their ordination. His house became a gathering place for the clergy, and he entertained distinguished visitors from the East, in increasing numbers after Nashotah became a station on the railroad between Milwaukee and the Mississippi. His was a liberal soul; and so simple were his tastes and so perfect was his economy that out of his annual missionary stipend of fifteen hundred dollars he was able to give largely to struggling missions in his field; there was probably no one in the church who gave away more in proportion to his income than he. He hardly ever had wine upon his table, one of the few exceptions being Christmas day, which, after he had formed a home in Wisconsin, he always tried to spend with his family. He sometimes drank a little beer, but weeks and months would often pass without his touching it. He liked desserts, having indeed a taste for sweets, as he had also for bright colors.

After dinner, if weather permitted, he would drive for hours or ride horseback, for he never acquired the habit of taking a nap in the afternoon. He liked to be much in the open air, and to this also he owed the firm health of his maturer years. . . . He was considerate of his domestics, and they revered and delighted to serve him. He preferred to help himself as much as possible; carried his own portmanteau upon his travels; and never coveted precedence or expected to be waited on. . . . He had a horror of debt as of a plague, impressing it upon his clergy, and earnestly discountenanced ambitious schemes of church building beyond a congregation's means. . . . Connected with this attribute was his conscientious recognition of social obligations; all through his episcopate, as time and strength permitted, he was particular about making and returning calls.

At supper, which was at six o'clock, he always took two large cups of tea, very much sweetened; and afterwards sat and talked with his family and friends. At nine he had prayers, and retiring immediately after, was in bed by ten. . . . He slept without waking until daybreak.

Sunday he kept as a day of holy rest and refreshment, equally removed from the strictness of the Presbyterian and the laxity of the Romanist. He always appeared at both morning and evening services; paid pastoral visits to the old and infirm; and gave such Christian hospitality as did not encroach upon his servants' rest. He never read newspapers on that day, or traveled if he could possibly help it. His children looked back to the Sundays spent with him as to glimpses of Paradise on earth; and Christmas was the crown of all the year. Every Twelfth-night he entertained the students of Nashotah.⁴⁶

Kemper's official relations connected him both with the national Church and with his own jurisdiction in various ways. Every bishop was in those days a member not only of the House of Bishops, but of the Board of Missions and the Trustees of the General Seminary. Kemper attended the first regularly, the second often, the third not infrequently, rarely putting himself forward in business, but taking advantage of the personal contacts offered for the benefit of his work. His own salary and the missionary appropriations for his clergy were appropriated by the domestic committee of the Board of Missions, composed of four presbyters and four laymen, and meeting at New York. Any bishop could attend, but few except occasionally Kemper or the Bishop of New York did. There was some of the inevitable friction which arises from the support of missions in an Episcopal Church by a representative body. Attempts were made to eliminate this by working out a system of making appropriations and appointments through the Missionary Bishops rather than over their heads. But successful co-operation depended on courtesy and understanding on both sides, which was usually forthcoming.

The Convention of 1835 had not conceived the idea of Missionary Districts, as we now know them, with an organization paralleling that of dioceses. Its Canon on the subject thought of the Missionary Bishop as sent out into states and territories, which he would organize into dioceses as soon as possible. Hence, after holding informal convocations of the clergy, Kemper proceeded to introduce diocesan organization into Indiana, Missouri, and Wisconsin. Not until 1853 did the Canons allow for the appointment of Standing Committees in missionary jurisdictions. The holding of convocations of clergy and laity, similar to diocesan conventions, seems to have grown up spontaneously in the following years, and simultaneously under Kemper in Minnesota and on the Pacific coast.⁴⁷

⁴⁶*White, op. cit.*, pp. 113-117.

⁴⁷The relevant canons are most easily seen in *White, Constitution and Canons*, on Canons 14 and 19.

Kemper's formal and constitutional relations with his jurisdiction were, of course, much less important than his work of organizing and visiting. Even when congregations had been organized, Kemper's visitations were much more than a formal visit to administer confirmation. He usually stayed for several days, often preaching more than once on Sunday, and perhaps on Saturday and Monday as well. He often arranged to be accompanied on his trips by one or two of the clergy. In visiting new places he would make, or perhaps find made for him, an appointment to preach, administer the sacraments to Episcopalians of the neighborhood, and sound out the possibilities of organizing a parish. At a vacant post he would take charge of the parish for as long as he could spare. Thus in 1842 he arrived at Indianapolis just before Palm Sunday, and

during fifteen days I celebrated the solemn daily services of the Church nineteen times, preached eighteen times, baptised two children, confirmed four persons, administered the Lord's Supper, when two were added to the list of communicants, visited throughout the parish, instructed the children in the Church catechism, and devoted Easter afternoon to a Sunday School which has been sustained and taught for years in the suburbs of the city, by two indefatigable members of the Church.⁴⁸

Most of Kemper's journeys were made by water, whenever possible, or else by stage or private conveyance on land. Not until towards the end of his missionary episcopate were railroads constructed in sufficient extent to be of considerable assistance. To the discomforts of some of his trips near the frontier were added the inconveniences of others, as when unexpected delays occurred, or when a bag, containing a year's official records, was lost in the Ohio River. On one occasion, when difficulties with canal boat and carriage had delayed Kemper on a visit to Richmond, Indiana, he passed the church window as the gospel was being read, and was in the pulpit before the singing was finished.⁴⁹

The clergy, whom Kemper was constantly struggling to get and to keep, were, of course, the main instruments in his work. The difficulty in keeping clergy was largely financial. The Missionary Society rarely appropriated more than \$250.00 towards any missionary's salary, assuming that more would be raised locally. Kemper's estimate of minimum necessary salaries was \$250.00 for a single man, \$500.00 if married. Western congregations often either could not or would not contribute, and various circumstances often led to long

⁴⁸*Indiana Convention Journal*, 1842, p. 14.

⁴⁹*Indiana Convention Journal*, 1846, p. 14.

delays in the missionary stipends. Consequently it was not surprising that mixed with the self-sacrificing and able men there were others who only came West because they could not find parishes at the East. Of such Kemper said:

The experience of my clerical brethren, and of myself, fully authorizes the declaration . . . that able men, thoroughly instructed as sound divines, and prepared to refute every error, and only such, should come to the West. Those who cannot succeed at the East—who are illiterate, ignorant of human nature, indolent, or characterized by great peculiarities, would be useless here. The post demands skilful, vigilant, and brave soldiers, ready to endure hardships for the Great Captain of our salvation. How useless to send to such a station the maimed, the careless, or the unlearned!⁵⁰

Once or twice Kemper was obliged to listen to complaints against his clergy, even to depose some of them. Most of his relations, however, were cordial—well-expressed by what he uttered as farewell words to the Indiana Convention, "I have loved you, and you have honored me."⁵¹

The greater interest of such ventures as Nashotah and of Kemper's personal activity must not make us forget that the central aim of his office as Missionary Bishop was to supervise and encourage the formation of parishes. Whether first started by Kemper or by others, these normally followed a regular course, from holding services to renting a room to building a church. The first services might be held almost anywhere—in court-houses, schoolroom, or in another church loaned for the purpose. At Jefferson City and Madison the statehouse was sometimes available. At one time when the parish at Madison was being revived after a lapse, services were conducted for a while in the Capitol Park. On his return journey from the Indian Territory in 1838, Kemper preached in the bar of a tavern, that being the largest room in the community where he found himself on Sunday. As soon as possible, a regular congregation would rent a room which could be fitted up as a church. Church building would follow, with an Episcopal visit for the cornerstone laying and again for the consecration. Kemper was opposed to appeals in the East for churches, except under definitely unusual circumstances. Sometimes, however, friends or former parishioners in the East or even in England did make substantial donations. Kemper invariably opposed building beyond the means of the parish or running into debt. In this he found himself

⁵⁰*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 6, 1841, p. 316.

⁵¹*Indiana Convention Journal*, 1847, p. 14.

running up against the temptation of the clergy to think that a church building might draw support when the preaching of the Gospel had failed to do so, and that of the laity to look to the outward appearance of their town and of the Episcopal Church in it.

The regular services of the Church were the chief program of these early Middle Western parishes. Kemper's Prayer Book principles would lead him to approve of the traditional morning service (Morning Prayer, Litany, and Ante-Communion) whenever possible, although some shortening was sometimes winked at. The use of the Prayer Book with congregations sometimes entirely strange to it raised difficulties, especially since Prayer Books were not relatively as cheap and easily obtainable for distribution as now. Missionaries, however, usually felt proud of an increasing volume of responses and considered spreading knowledge of the Prayer Book itself a valuable missionary act. The practical difficulties of western missionaries were one of the motives behind the desire for greater liturgical freedom expressed in the Muhlenburg Memorial of 1853. Vestments seem sometimes to have been dispensed with, even by the Bishop, in new parishes as well as when officiating informally. A gift of a surplice or a gown, however, was always appreciated. Besides its services, the only formal activities of a parish were usually a Sunday School and some kind of a woman's society. More careful training of children for confirmation was one of the points which Bishop Kemper stressed. The clergy or their wives sometimes conducted schools, but this was more often a regretted financial necessity than an integral part of their work.

One sometimes gets the impression that the laity had to be coaxed into taking any interest in the extension of the Church among them. Old Episcopalians from the East often dropped easily into other churches, while English immigrants were rarely heard from at all. This was by no means always the case. Only lay interest, of course, made possible the organization of parishes. Often we hear of an aged Episcopalian immigrant who brings his children and grandchildren to the sacraments when the Church at last catches up with him. The presence of a single enthusiastic layman might often make the difference between a possible and an impossible situation—and the removal of such a man, on the other hand, might be the end of a promising mission. Lay reading by members of the parish sometimes kept a congregation together during a prolonged vacancy. In a few cases (as at Stevens Point, Wisconsin,) services were started and a parish begun by a layman moving to a new town. The laity of Bishop Kemper's West were all newly arrived, and often on the move again. On the whole, they did very well.

Relations with other churches were on the whole rather friendly. Protestant churches often loaned their buildings and gave other signs of co-operation. Rome, often represented at this period by French clergy, was regarded as a danger—able to plant schools which might attract the children of Episcopal parents and lead them into idolatry. In some places the Episcopalians seem to have been a more liberal and educated element where other religious influences were more fundamentalist. At least, it is noted at Burlington, Iowa, and at Milwaukee that the formation of Unitarian churches cut into what had been part of the Episcopal constituency.⁵²

Relieved of his duties in Indiana by Upfold's consecration, Kemper devoted himself more energetically to his remaining territories. In 1851 the first ordination and church consecration in Iowa took place. Several congregations had been formed in Minnesota. Two army chaplains further west considered themselves in Bishop Kemper's jurisdiction.⁵³ In Wisconsin a crisis had occurred in the affairs of Nashotah. The staff had consisted for some years of Breck as head and Adams as professor. A reaction against Breck's severe ideals of discipline, and the failure of any other priest to join him in the community life, led him to leave Nashotah in 1850. Perhaps a certain restlessness in Breck's disposition, which made it easier for him to begin a new enterprise than to administer an established one, also contributed. The result worked out for the good of the Church. The Rev. Azel D. Cole was appointed president of Nashotah, which developed usefully along the academic lines Kemper had originally planned for it. Meanwhile, Breck with two companions established an associate mission at St. Paul. This was at first designed as another Nashotah, which Kemper naturally objected to. Instead Breck's activities developed in another direction, laid the foundation of the Church around St. Paul, and then in 1852 were transferred to an Indian mission 150 miles further north.⁵⁴

Growth continued in Iowa, where the assistance of the Missionary Society was supplemented by that of the (Evangelical) Philadelphia Association for the West. By 1853 there were seven clergy in Minnesota, where rapid immigration had now set in.⁵⁵ In that year Iowa was organized as a diocese, and in 1854 Henry Washington Lee became its Bishop. Kemper now called attention to the claims of

⁵² Authority for statements in this general survey may be found in the official sources—reports of Kemper and other missionaries in *Spirit of Missions* and diocesan journals, especially *Indiana* and *Wisconsin*.

⁵³ *Annual report in Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 16, 1851, pp. 369-372.

⁵⁴ *Wisconsin Convention Journals, 1850-1851*; Breck, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-232; Holcombe, *op. cit.*, 55-90.

⁵⁵ Kemper's annual report, in *Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 18, 1853, pp. 483-487.

Kansas and Nebraska.⁵⁶ In the same year Kemper accepted the diocesan episcopate of Wisconsin, which he had refused in 1847—thus preparing to assume as a place of retirement the office which for others is usually the crowning task of a lifetime.⁵⁷

The last five years of Kemper's missionary episcopate were by no means unimportant, however. Besides Minnesota, he had a vague jurisdiction over points west. The increase of railroad facilities in Wisconsin made it possible for him to give time both to his growing diocese and to his missionary territory.⁵⁸ Kansas was now in the troubled period of its settlement. In the summer of 1856 Kemper visited Nebraska, in conjunction with Bishop Lee, and held services at several places in Kansas. At Council City he confirmed two candidates who had been prepared for that rite in Litchfield, Connecticut, but had left home before the Bishop's visit.

The Holy Communion was desired; and I was anxious to administer that most salutary sacrament, but wine could not be procured.⁵⁹

The status of the Church in the new territories being somewhat doubtful, the presiding Bishop (Brownell of Connecticut) suggested that Kemper should take charge of the work in Kansas and Lee of that in Nebraska, but without attempting any formal organization under their jurisdiction. Under this arrangement Kemper visited Kansas during the next three years, watching over the stationing of missionaries, the building of churches, and the organization of parishes as in the early days of his work in Indiana and Missouri.⁶⁰

A similar process went on in Minnesota, where a diocese was organized in 1857. Breck had advanced from his first Indian mission to found another. Circumstances beyond his control (mainly the increase of Indian disorders owing to undesirable white influence) drove him from this work in 1857, and required the eventual closing of the first mission. He settled at Faribault to revive the early missionary days of Nashotah in the interior of Minnesota, and laid the foundation of the cluster of institutions which was to do so much for the Church in that state. A few Indians came with him, including a Chippewa candidate for Orders, John Johnson, or Emmegabowh. In 1859 the diocese of Minnesota, which now included several self-supporting parishes, elected its first Bishop, Whipple. The ordina-

⁵⁶*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 19, 1854, pp. 505-507.

⁵⁷*Wisconsin Convention Journals*, 1847 and 1854.

⁵⁸*Wisconsin Convention Journal*, 1854, p. 8.

⁵⁹*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 21, 1856, pp. 620-621.

⁶⁰*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 22, 1857, and Kemper's reports.

tion of Emmegabowh to the diaconate was almost Kemper's last official act as a Missionary Bishop.⁶¹ The first ordination of an Indian in the Episcopal Church was the beginning of our western Indian work of today, and a suitable end to a missionary episcopate, which thus terminated, as it had begun, with the breaking of new ground.

Kemper had expressed his intention of laying down his missionary commission at the approaching General Convention of 1859. In the states and territories which had been under his care there were now: in Missouri, a bishop and 27 clergy; in Indiana, a bishop and 25; in Wisconsin, 55 clergy, besides Kemper; in Iowa, a bishop and 31 clergy; in Minnesota, 20 clergy, with a bishop-elect; in Kansas (which had organized as a diocese, somewhat against Kemper's wishes), 10 clergy; in Nebraska, 4 clergy.⁶²

Kemper resigned in the following words, in which, at the age of 70, he still looks more into the future than into the past:

I now with deep emotion tender to the Church my resignation of the office of Missionary Bishop, which, unsought for, and entirely unexpected, was conferred upon me twenty-four years ago. Blessed with health, and cheered by the conviction of duty, I have been enabled to travel at all seasons through Indiana, Missouri, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, and partly through Kansas and Nebraska. . . . If any one, perhaps I can realize the immense field of labor and final triumph that is before us. Let our Missionary Bishops be increased—let them be multiplied. The West, the mighty West, demands immediate and thorough attention. Thus far, what we have even attempted, has been but as it were, a drop in the ocean. What ought we not to do for Pike's Peak (soon to be organized into a territory) with its one hundred thousand inhabitants? What for New Mexico, Dacotah, Deseret, and those other vast regions, both South and West, into which the hardy emigrant is pressing, and where, I fear, before we act, there will be a million of people, and among them a goodly number who once enjoyed all the sacred privileges we now possess.⁶³

This article has attempted to be an account of Kemper's missionary episcopate—neither a chapter from his life, nor a history of the Church in the regions under his care. The former would require a full use of the Kemper manuscripts, while the latter would have to be worked out in close connection with the local history of the various

⁶¹*Minnesota Convention Journals, 1857-9; Spirit of Missions, Vol. 23, 1858, pp. 595-599; Vol. 24, 1859, pp. 588-589; Breck, op. cit., pp. 181-352; Holcombe, op. cit., pp. 69-150.*

⁶²*Spirit of Missions, Vol. 24, 1859, p. 543.*

⁶³*Spirit of Missions, Vol. 24, 1859, pp. 591-592.*

states and towns involved. It is to be hoped that both projects may some time be accomplished. Meanwhile there stands out from the official records of Kemper's activities as Missionary Bishop one rather startling fact. We are accustomed to a standard summarizing of the history of the Episcopal Church in which a description of its inactivity in extending itself after the Revolution is followed by a reference to the great principle adopted at the General Convention of 1835 and it is implied that then everything was all right. This was not the case. The Church failed to carry out its announced intentions, its implied promises to its first Missionary Bishop. If the domestic committee of the Board of Missions had had only \$60,000 a year to spend in Bishop Kemper's time instead of \$30,000—if Kemper had had only a few more men—much more would certainly have been accomplished. In Indiana and Missouri, to be sure, the settlement was well advanced when Kemper arrived. But in Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, the Church was on the scene with the first white settlers, as soon as anybody else. Lack of men, or of cash to support them, led to the long series of promising openings which were not followed up, or followed up too late. Moreover, few except Kemper and Breck were able to survey the situation as a whole. Most of the clergy, driven to concentrate on building up their parishes by the weakness of their support from home, scarcely got beyond their most obvious source for a congregation—the already Episcopalian immigrants—leaving to others the evangelization of the unchurched. No wonder Kemper wrote in 1853:

I have almost thought at times I commanded the forlorn hope.⁶⁴

The wonder is that he accomplished what he did.

Kemper's personality as it stands out in his career as Missionary Bishop might be well summed up in words he himself applied to the Church:

so mild, so conservative, and yet so decided.⁶⁵

There were elements of gentleness, even of sentiment, among the attractive features of his character. After studying this period it is rather startling to remember that Kemper was a New Yorker by birth, and that it is Columbia College which hangs his portrait among its distinguished alumni. For the West seems to have inspired in him a genuine affection—especially Wisconsin. His ability to leave

⁶⁴*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 18, 1853, p. 483.

⁶⁵*Indiana Convention Journal*, 1843, pp. 18-19.

those under him freedom to work in their own way, even when their opinions or choice of methods differed from his, is a remarkable quality among organizers. Yet it never left in doubt his firm adherence to the ancient principles of the Church and of the Gospel, or prevented him from insisting, when it seemed necessary to do so, on the rights of his office. But above all, he possessed that calm devotion to duty which is perhaps the most typically Anglican form of Christian character. Never did he ask of others what he did not exemplify himself. A striking incident of 1856 illustrates his character better than a long eulogy could do it. Civil disturbances made traveling in Kansas unsafe. A missionary on his way there was therefore directed to wait in Wisconsin—until the Bishop returned from his preliminary visit to the territory.⁶⁶

⁶⁶*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 21, 1856, pp. 343-4.

KEMPER'S DIOCESAN EPISCOPATE: 1854-1870

By Rt. Rev. Frank E. Wilson, S.T.D.

Bishop of Eau Claire

THE State of Wisconsin covers 55,000 square miles—six thousand more than the State of New York, including Long Island.

When Bishop Kemper first entered the State in 1838, it contained twelve thousand white settlers (now it has a population of three million). For the next eight years he was in and out, covering his enormous field with no settled residence. Finally, in 1846, a house was secured for him on the outskirts of Nashotah, and there he made his home for the rest of his life.

His missionary policy was to build up sufficient Church strength in a given state to carry itself as a diocese and then to release it from his jurisdiction to make its way under its own bishop. This he accomplished in Indiana and Missouri. The time came when conditions seemed ripe for Wisconsin to follow suit and in 1847 he called a Primary Convention for the organization of a diocese and the election of a bishop. By unanimous vote Kemper himself was elected bishop. He refused to commit himself at that time and later declined the election. Before this, he had declined similar elections in Maryland and Indiana. He still believed the time had not yet come for him to relinquish the broad missionary field to which the Church had called him a dozen years before. For the next seven years he continued a strictly missionary episcopate, giving to Wisconsin only its proper share of his comprehensive attention.

In 1854, when he was sixty-five years of age and had nineteen years of incessant missionary travel behind him, he was willing to revise his earlier decision. For the second time the Convention, in that year, elected him Bishop of Wisconsin and he accepted the office. The new diocese, however, was not yet able to bear the expense of his salary and for several years he continued to receive the munificent stipend of fifteen hundred dollars a year from the Board of Missions, in return for which he rendered certain missionary services beyond the borders of his own State. It was not until 1859 that he resigned once for all his office as Missionary Bishop and the Diocesan

Convention voted to assume the obligation of his salary, which was fixed at two thousand dollars a year, including his traveling expenses. The records indicate that he failed to receive even that amount for a year or two after it had been voted.

Two difficulties confronted him from the outset of his diocesan episcopate. The first was the eternal question of finances. Plans were on foot for the creation of an episcopal endowment fund when the financial depression of 1857 swept the country with disastrous and lingering effect. Even before that, in his address to the Convention of 1856, Kemper deplored the lack of funds for missionary expansion with endless opportunities staring him in the face. The two thousand dollars at his disposal had to be spread out so thin that no missionary received more than \$150. For the ensuing year's budget \$1,950 was already allocated in such paltry amounts as he had mentioned, leaving him exactly \$50 with which to enter a dozen new fields where excellent prospects called for action. A curious proposal came before the Convention in the year of the depression. The Trustees held a sum of two thousand dollars as the nucleus of an endowment fund. It was stated that this amount of money could purchase 1,600 acres of government land in Wisconsin which, in the course of five years, could be sold again at anywhere from two hundred to a thousand per cent profit. The Trustees were authorized to make the venture, but the following year they reported that they declined to do as ordered, considering it preferable to invest the funds in good mortgages bearing the modest interest rate of twelve per cent. One year later the Bishop reported: "We have Missionaries in the field—must they be withdrawn? . . . Our treasury is empty. I am powerless." The following year he stated: "These are indeed times to try men's souls. Business has been stagnant; immense debts are resting upon our State, and many places, once thriving, are now dull, if not decaying. In the meanwhile the love of not a few has waxed cold, while iniquity abounds more and more. . . . Our treasury is not only empty, it has been in debt for a month past, while not one of our small but noble band of self-sacrificing Missionaries has been paid a cent of his salary, due the 1st of the month."

His second great trial was the instability of his clergy. Too often, men who were failures in the east or who were obliged to leave some parish for the good of the parish, came out into a new field like Wisconsin as a last resort. There they simply repeated their record of incompetence, much to the disadvantage of a new and growing work which required courage, self-sacrifice, and a large measure of spiritual pertinacity. In 1859 Kemper lamented that "But six clergymen have been added to our number, while no less than thirteen have left us."

Like Philander Chase, he recognized the necessity of rearing his own crop of candidates for Holy Orders and therefore concentrated his attention more and more heavily on the development of Nashotah House.

Considering his advanced age, Kemper's activities continued to be little short of amazing. Taking one of his reports at random, in 1860, when he was seventy-one years old, he recorded thirty-three baptisms for the year and 305 confirmations in twenty-six visitations; he ordained eight Deacons and six Priests; he organized five parishes and laid the corner stones of four church buildings; he made missionary trips into Minnesota and Kansas; in that same year he consecrated Bishop Whipple for Minnesota and Bishop Talbot for the missionary bishopric of the North-West, and attended the sessions of General Convention. By that date he could rejoice in the luxury of plank roads and the beginning of railroad service for his travels. One of his clergy writes of accompanying the bishop on a seventeen-mile drive in an open buggy at fifteen degrees below zero and in the teeth of a bitter wind to keep a confirmation appointment. Kemper himself tells of a summer trip to the city of Superior by boat which took him fifteen days, adding, "when within two miles of Superior, on the 21st, a few of us who were bound for the place were sent ashore in a yawl, while the wind was blowing, the waves dashing over us, and the rain falling." When he left Superior on that trip, he spent four days traveling by stage to St. Paul, Minn.,—a distance which can now be covered by automobile in as many hours.

There was nothing spectacular about Bishop Kemper. If he had any one notable characteristic, it was an absorbing sense of duty. At the same time he had a childlike cheerfulness which never left him even in old age. He was devoted to his home and family but never neglected a duty which took him away from them. Always orderly and methodical, he carried on a heavy correspondence and was meticulous about keeping his records. His journal is copious and detailed. How he ever managed it all in the midst of his constant traveling is a source of wonder to any biographer. His great passion was the Church. He seemed to have little or no interest in the great political and social upheavals which racked the country during a large part of his episcopate. He was convinced that if people would practice their Christian principles and follow along the way which the Church pointed out to them, all problems would be automatically solved. Deeply sensitive as he was to the hurts inflicted by the horrors of the Civil War, he scarcely referred to the conflict in his public utterances. It was not until the last year of the War that he issued a special prayer for use in his diocese. In 1862, when the whole

country was in flames, his only comment to the diocesan Convention was as follows: "While the whole community has been deeply and daily interested in the war, a vast number of our young men have entered the army; besides, five of the Clergy became chaplains, and others, I have reason to believe, were ready in this way to proclaim the truths of the Gospel to those who were exposing their lives in defense of our country, and especially to carry to them when wounded, sick or dying, the consolation of our holy religion."

One is struck in this man by a strange anomaly which persisted year after year. He was an inveterate traveler, inured to the hardships of the road and ready to accommodate himself to all the inconveniences of a peripatetic frontier life, yet he was by nature gentle and refined in his tastes and possessed of scholarly gifts. Except when the vicissitudes of travel interfered, it was his daily custom to read something from his Greek Testament. He exhorted his clergy to study and teach. Schools were a great concern to him. He never ceased to commend to the favorable consideration of his flock not only Nashotah House, but also the Female Seminary at Oconomowoc, Racine College, and Kemper Hall in Kenosha. Besides these established institutions, he was a powerful advocate of parochial schools and during his episcopate many of them flourished throughout his diocese. Near the close of his long life, he proposed a novel experiment which was taken under serious consideration by a committee appointed for the purpose. The idea was to open a special training center for sons of the clergy and other young men of suitable qualifications for a four-year course of study designed to equip them for the teaching profession. Graduates were to be ordained to the diaconate and sent out under the Bishop's direction as Teaching Deacons. They would go to communities unable to support a resident priest, open a school, and at the same time conduct services. As teachers, they would earn their own way in a territory where the school system was only embryonic, and as deacons they would plant the Church and instruct their pupils in the Christian faith. He never lived to see his project launched, but it is a significant indication of a bold attempt to cover a neglected sector of his field.

Shortly before Kemper's death the famous Ritual Controversy broke upon the Church. Extremists entrenched themselves on opposite wings and hurled their thunderbolts at one another with a modicum of righteous indignation and a maximum of unrighteous venom. Kemper detested controversy but found himself in the midst of a battlefield, the target of missiles from both directions. He was thoroughly out of sympathy with the belligerent group who later departed in the Reformed Episcopal movement and he was not much

more sympathetic with the elaborators who coveted the title of "ritualist." He was particularly incensed at the circularizing of his diocese with partisan publications aimed at arousing the fears and prejudices of the laity. In two successive years he expressed himself with deep feeling on the subject in his annual addresses:

"Reflection and inquiry have convinced me, that in the present agitated state of the Church, it is our sacred duty to rally with more and more enthusiasm about the Book of Common Prayer, the Articles and the Ordinal. They contain the best summary of Gospel truth, I verily believe, that can be found in the world. They richly deserve our affection, obedience and gratitude; and they are intimately connected with the purest and best ages of the Church. Here let me record my conviction that I consider the services for the administration of the Holy Communion full of most solemn and evangelical truths, and that the language and sentiments of the Catechism and the Baptismal offices are entirely sanctioned by the primitive Church and by the Holy Scriptures.

"To those who would alter or omit, as well as to those who would add to the established and well-known Sacraments, Rites, Ceremonies and phraseology of the Church, I would say with affection and solicitude, why offend and alarm the vast majority of your brethren, not a few of whom have joined us from conviction that we had the truth as it is in Jesus in all its integrity, and that our worship when duly and solemnly celebrated, is sanctioned by the Church of primitive times, and is a near perfection as we can attain to on this side of Eternity."

Bishop Armitage, Assistant Bishop of the Diocese, at the same Convention valiantly supported his diocesan:

"But the officious intermeddling, the circulation of extreme partisan papers, the attempt to draw the laity from the clergy for separate action, to sow fears and suspicions among brethren, deserve the severest reprobation of us all. We are a united Diocese, doing the Lord's work in the old spirit of the Church. Let the few whose fears and suspicions have been stirred, be on their guard against their own prejudices, and against the representations of the prejudiced and the lawless. Our Father in God, like Samuel, 'old and gray-headed,' might 'testify his integrity' here unchallenged. Who will witness against him? No man dares suspect him of approval of new-fangled doctrines or practices. With the great body of our Clergy and Laity, I stand with *him*."

To make it unanimous, the Convention then adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That this Convention heartily and unanimously endorses and adopts as its own, the expressions in the Bishop's address of last year and in the Assistant Bishop's address of this year, on the subject of lawlessness, as shown on the one side by the introduction of unusual ceremonies copied from the unreformed Churches, and on the other, by the breach of the plain rubrics and Church law and customs in the mutilation of the services; and that this Convention hereby declares it to be the settled determination of the Church in the Diocese of Wisconsin, heartily to support the Bishop and Church Courts in bringing the discipline of the Church to bear on any who within their jurisdiction, may offend either by mutilating the services of the Church, or while using the words of our reformed Liturgy, offend by teaching, by their ceremonial and gestures, doctrines which our Church condemns, and introduce a Ritualism which our Protestant and reformed Communion three centuries ago solemnly renounced."

While the Civil War was still waging, Kemper's health began to waver. He was subject to occasional lapses which were very disquieting to his friends. In 1866 he asked for the election of an Assistant Bishop and the Rev. William E. Armitage, Rector of St. John's Church, Detroit, was elected on the fifth ballot. He proved to be a peculiarly happy choice, working in full harmony with his superior and relieving him of heavy responsibilities. Two years later the question was definitely raised of dividing the diocese. Both bishops foresaw the eventual need of at least three (possibly four) dioceses in Wisconsin and the first step to that end was taken in 1875 by the setting apart of Fond du Lac.

The end came easily. On April 3, 1870, Kemper confirmed his last class. For several weeks thereafter he continued his office duties and his correspondence but was unable to attempt any further traveling. On May 18 he was confined to his bed, gradually passed into a coma and died on the afternoon of Tuesday, May 24th. With six bishops, seventy priests, and some two thousand people in attendance, he was buried in the cemetery at Nashotah. The whole Church was deeply stirred by the passing of this eighty-year-old veteran of missionary service. For thirty-five years he had earned and held the affection and admiration of churchmen as few other men have ever been able to do. The spirit of his life and ministry is well summed up in one of his last remarks:

"I have everything to be thankful for; the presence of my Saviour, the help of His Holy Spirit, and a hope full of immortality."

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

1856

Dec 7

July

Cooke & Capt. Egan. supper. To sleep in C's bed, another man in the room. Legislature in session come grant of land by Congress for R.R.R. Sargent says his firm has an interest in Florence in Nebraska, that Mr. Mitchell there will give us lots, & he (S) will give 500 for a 2500 Ch. S. left well. Met Thurston & F. Macdenn now a senator. Cooke will take my money & invest it. spoke freely of land of whom he thinks well - & of Mr. Lee. The 7000 acres in Co. for the Ch will yield 50,000 for output of the R.R., &c. a cool breeze. Staid at 10 a. m. 4 beds myself. Not uncomfortable. 3 going to Montezuma. a good dinner. travel very slow. poor road. much gun timber.

9. Had to walk at midnight. some bad places. at Montezuma about 3. The 3 left us there at a poor horse on to Greenwell to Co. & staid there some hours for the store that left after

KEMPER'S JOURNAL AND LETTERS

With Introduction and Notes by an Associate Editor

OUT of the many volumes of the Kemper MSS.¹ it has been possible to select but a few specimens for publication in this number. The canons of selection have been their historical importance, their general interest, and their revelation of the Bishop's personality. We are indebted to Mr. William Ives Rutter, Jr., Secretary of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia, for copies of the Kemper letters in his personal collection, all but one of which are here printed; to the Rev. L. O. Forqueran, Acting Librarian of the Maryland Diocesan Library, for copies of the four historically important letters in that library's collection of seventeen Kemper letters; and to the Rev. Alden Drew Kelley, our Church's Chaplain at the University of Wisconsin, for the transcript of the selection from the Kemper Journal, including the excerpts from the Bishop's letters to Mrs. Adams and Dr. Van Kleeck.

LETTER TO BISHOP DOANE CONCERNING HIS ACCEPTANCE

September ?, 1835

My dear Bishop,

I have said, 'here am I, send me.' I did it with fear and trembling, but I will go (the Lord being my helper) with cheerfulness. My faith at first was faint and my mind confused—for the event was unexpected and overwhelming. In the retirement of my study, and in the midst of parochial duty, I was enabled to examine the subject with some degree of calmness. The question, 'how could I dare to refuse,' connected with the brightening hope that my Divine Master had called me through the instrumentality of his Church led to an increase of faith and produced the effect I have stated.

Ten thousand thanks for your letter. It penetrated, like a sharp two edged sword, the inmost recesses of my soul. I have not consulted with flesh and blood. I know not even now the wishes of my relations. In the presence of God I have endeavoured simply to ascertain the path of duty. May I be strengthened by divine grace to pursue it with a pure and devoted spirit. It now remains for the Church, in her Missionary character, to commission me, in-

¹See below: *Bibliography*.

struct me, and send me forth. May God, in his infinite mercy, prepare me, through Christ our Lord!

Jackson Kemper.

LETTER² TO THE REV^D JEHU C. CLAY³

PHILADELPHIA, PENN^A

St. Louis, Mo. 21 March, 1837

My dear Sir

Yr favour of 3^d inst was rec'd this morning. I sincerely sympathise with you in that severe dispensation that has taken your eldest son from the guardianship of his earthly father—but O! my brother, how delightful the thought, that he is now secure for ever in the Paradise of God. May the event be sanctified to the eternal benefit of your own soul.

I thank you for your kind expressions; and am truly sorry but by no means blame you, that you cannot come to the West. Will you do me the favor to address a note to the Rev. Lloyd Windsor,⁴ New York, and say to him that you decline going to Indianapolis. He has some thought of applying for that station & is a young man of much promise.

If Mr. Reynolds⁵ has not succeeded at the East, what could he do at the West? But I really know nothing of him, especially for the last 6 years. If you & his Bp. can recommend him I shall be happy to see him in my Mission. As a successful teacher he could do much good and make money almost any where in this country—& upon this point more especially I shall wish to see him when in your city where I hope to be for a day or two about the 20th of April.

The news you mentioned was quite interesting and I am grateful for it.

In great haste and with almost 50 unanswered letters staring me in the face

I am truly & affly yr bro in Christ

Jackson Kemper.

²The original of this letter is in the possession of Mr. William Ives Rutter, Jr., Secretary of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia.

³The Rev. Jehu C. Clay was then Rector of the Swedish Churches near Philadelphia.

⁴The Rev. Lloyd Windsor became Rector of St. Michael's Church, Genesee, Livingston County, Diocese of Western New York.

⁵The Rev. John Reynolds, Rector of St. James' Church, Perkiomen, and St. John's Church, Norristown, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.

LETTER⁶ TO THE REV. C. S. HEDGES, PALMYRA, MISSOURI

St. Louis, Mo.
29 May 1838

My dear Sir

You are probably aware before this that I have been more than four months engaged in visiting the Southwest.⁷ I only returned last week—and will now endeavour with divine assistance to make the best use of my time until it is necessary for me to hasten to the General Convention.⁸ I am obliged to meet the Clergy of Indiana at Evansville on the 9th of June and must remain the greater part of the month in that State.⁹ Shall I then visit you and your neighbourhood in July or postpone my visit to the fall?¹⁰ I will comply with great pleasure with your decision. It is expedient for me I think from some very peculiar circumstances to travel thro Wisconsin before the 1st of Sept.¹¹ Your decision will determine my route. Have the goodness to answer this as soon as convenient and direct to Indianapolis, Indiana.

Anxious to keep within your own limits of a letter, and having in fact a great many to answer I close with the assurance of respect and brotherly affection.

Jackson Kemper.

Rev. C. S. Hedges,
Palmyra,
Missouri.

⁶The original is in the possession of Wm. Ives Rutter, Jr., of Philadelphia.

⁷Bishop Oley of Tennessee requested Bishop Kemper to make with him a tour in the Southwest. Kemper agreed, but on reaching Memphis in January, 1838, found Oley stricken with fever and had to proceed alone. He accordingly visited Natchez, New Orleans, Mobile, Pensacola, Tallahassee, Macon, Columbus (Georgia), Montgomery, Greensboro, Tuscaloosa, Columbus (Mississippi), and returned to Mobile and New Orleans. In about four months he visited nearly all the parishes in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Florida, confirming in nearly all, consecrating eight churches, and advancing two deacons to the priesthood. He stated that at least fifty missionaries were needed in that region immediately. Kemper made a most favorable impression for the Church and, what is more important, stirred up the General Convention to elect a Bishop to fill the post declined by Dr. Hawks three years before. Leonidas Polk was accordingly elected and was consecrated December 9, 1838, first Bishop of the Southwest.

⁸The General Convention of 1838 met in Philadelphia, September 5th to 17th.

⁹He kept this appointment, visited the diocese, and among other things obtained from General William Henry Harrison the gift of a fine lot of land for a church in Vincennes. Indiana was admitted as a Diocese by the General Convention of this year, but did not have its own Diocesan Bishop until Dr. Upfold was consecrated, December 18, 1849, Kemper having refused to become Diocesan.

¹⁰The visitation of Missouri did not take place until after the General Convention—the Fall of 1838.

¹¹In July of 1838, for the first time as Bishop, he entered Wisconsin, visiting Prairie du Chien, Cassville, Mineral Point, Madison, and Fort Winnebago, preaching and administering the Holy Communion. Early in August he arrived at Green Bay (last visited in 1834 before his election as Bishop), confirmed six persons and laid the cornerstone of Christ Church, Green Bay. He also visited the Oneida settlement at Duck Creek and laid the cornerstone of Hobart Church. Following this visitation, he learned of his election as Bishop of Maryland, which he declined.

LETTER¹² TO MR. GRISWOLD OF THE GENERAL SEMINARY

Burlington, Iowa,
Nov. 7th, 1840

Dear Sir:

The topic which occasionally engaged our attention during the two last days of my visit to New York in June, has lost in my estimation none of its interest and importance. I have now passed through more than half of my Missions since I saw you, and I am more ready than ever to declare my thorough conviction that the establishment and future prosperity of our Church in the West greatly depends, in all human probability, upon the early organization of a school of the prophets in some part of this rapidly growing country. My wish is that several—not less than three and twelve would not be too many—of the students of the Theological Seminary should devote themselves to this sacred object.

Some part of the interior of Wisconsin would, I am inclined to think, be the most desirable location. It is very healthy. The cold weather is scarcely as long and not more severe than in the Northern part of New York, while the atmosphere is said to be so dry during that season that it is quite congenial to consumptive patients. It is peculiarly accessible to the inhabitants of those states to which we must look for many years to come for the students who are to be prepared for the ministry of reconciliation. Extensive tracts of land can yet be purchased at government prices \$1.25 per acre. The roads are even now good—and the journey at this day across the Territory—from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river—is safe and pleasant.

The organization should be I think somewhat upon the plan of the Colleges of the English Universities: a limited number of fellows, bound together by certain rules, supplying their own vacancies, and being themselves a body corporate—devoted to the great object of preaching the Gospel and preparing young men for holy Orders. The establishment should be principally supported by Grammar and Collegiate schools—and the cultivation of the land. Celibacy until a certain age or for a number of years should be required of most if not all the fellows for economy and study's sake—as we would constantly aim at making thorough and ripe scholars of the teachers as well as their pupils. A dispensation to marry should be granted to an individual either by a unanimous vote or by resignation of his fellowship.

Immense good it appears to me would result to the Cause to which we are devoted, and a great increase of

¹²This letter was written to Mr. Griswold, a student at the General Theological Seminary. A copy of it was sent to Bishop Whittingham in Baltimore by James Lloyd Breck and the copy is now in the Maryland Diocesan Library. This letter is important in revealing Bishop Kemper's own ideas concerning the institution which eventually became Nashotah House.

usefulness to clergymen and of happiness to their families by establishing the custom of not marrying before Thirty.—To those who know the truth and sobriety of the Church and the scriptural character of her ordinances and worship; who are aware of the prodigious efforts of the Romanists in this part of the valley of the Mississippi; and the rapid spread of fanaticism and delusion, I need not say a word concerning the necessity of a measure of this nature and the unutterable advantages which may flow from it.

Under the present state of things, the majority of the few clergymen, who are disposed to come here, will be those who cannot obtain parishes in the East. What can the feeble, the maimed and the broken down do among a young and enterprising people? Sacrifices must be made. It is useless to think of entering the ministry at the present day unless we are prepared for self-denial, toil, and suffering. And to whom should the Church look to accomplish the high objects to which she is pledged but to those students whom she may most emphatically call her own? Will you take this subject into the most serious consideration—pray over it—and consult with your fellow students? I have suggested mere hints which are of course susceptible of great improvement. Could some plan of the kind be adopted, that would promise to be effective, we might I think excite among Churchmen a peculiar interest in its favour, and perhaps secure, before next autumn, funds sufficient for land, some buildings and a few books. I shall be happy to hear at St. Louis from you or any of the students upon this subject, and am truly and Affectionately yours,
Jackson Kemper.

LETTER¹³ TO BISHOP WHITTINGHAM

Delafield, Wis.
Nov. 13, 1849.

My dear Bishop:

I only received your favour of the 4th ulto a day or two since on my return from Iowa. Such a letter as you suggest has been forwarded to Bishop Chase. The time you mention is exceedingly unpropitious for aged men especially in the West to travel, yet I hesitated not to mention Feby, adding however the earliest day possible as an alternative. Furthermore it would scarcely be possible for all the Bishops to receive three months notice and assemble in that month.

I think it would be highly desirable for those Bishops who are known to be the well wishers of Bp B. T. O.¹⁴ to meet together at some time and place before the House of Bishops assemble.

¹³The original is in the Maryland Diocesan Library.

¹⁴Bishop Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk of New York.

Let me remind you that I have not yet received a transfer of the Rev. Joshua Sweet.¹⁵

If my brethren in the Episcopate think that my jurisdiction extends to the Pacific (as according to the report of the committee of the last Board on the report of the Domestic Committee) there ought to be some action taken to bring the Domestic Committee to a sense of their duty. I am not at all consulted by them in reference to Oregon or California, the appointment of ministers and Missions stations in those Territories. I have really no desire upon the subject, but simply wish to do my duty. If I am Bishop to the Pacific, the clergy who have gone to California should have been transferred to me, and means should have been provided so that I might be able to visit the country.

I am dear Bishop, faithfully and affectly your friend and brother

Jackson Kemper.

Rt. Rev. W. R. Whittingham
Baltimore, Maryland.

LETTER¹⁶ TO BISHOP WHITTINGHAM

Plattsville, Wis.
Apr. 15, 1851

My dear Bishop:

A letter from the Rev. James Abercrombie¹⁷ dated 5th inst was forwarded to me while on my present visitation, in which after stating that the work on his Church is to begin the 1st of May, he writes, "I therefore have fixed on the 8th of May for the laying of the corner stone. I trust it will be in your power to attend, and shall be pleased to have you take such part in the services as may be agreeable to you. Services to be at 11 o'clock. Mr. Akerly¹⁸ will make the address." Now I do not think I am tenacious with respect to privileges or even rights, and yet I acknowledge myself a little riled as a Yankee would say by this note.

I have laid corner stones for low as well as high Churchmen, and heretofore the time as well as all the arrangements have been left to me in the most respectful manner. Here the time is fixed—the speaker is chosen—and I am not even requested to lay the stone! Still I am invited to take part in the services. What has been your experience—what your practice? A corner stone can without doubt be laid by a presbyter—ought he to do it unless requested by the

¹⁵The Rev. Joshua Sweet had been rector of St. Paul's Parish, Prince George County, Maryland, and was at this time officiating at Fond du Lac, Wisconsin.

¹⁶The original is in the Maryland Diocesan Library, Baltimore.

¹⁷The Rev. James Abercrombie was rector of St. Matthias' Church, Waukesha, Wisconsin.

¹⁸The Rev. Benjamin Akerly was rector of St. Paul's Church, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Bishop—and ought he publickly use a service which has not been sanctioned by his Bishop? Has Abercrombie acquired from his old rector Dr. Wyatt,¹⁹ the self-conceited and arrogant views which compel him to insult any Bishop who may come in contact with him upon his own ground (the precinct of his parish)?

If I am wrong I shall be particularly gratified to be set right by one who desires to be governed by love, and who I believe never claims a right which he can conscientiously relinquish.

Faithfully and affectly your bro
Jackson Kemper.

To Rt. Rev. William R. Whittingham
Baltimore, Maryland.

BISHOP KEMPER'S DIARY²⁰

VISITATION OF NEBRASKA AND KANSAS, 1856

(July) 9 (1856). On a bed an hour or 2. Heard of Col. Lane & 300 (soldiers) at Io (Iowa) City on way to Kansas. Broke down at midnight. Several passengers. Palmer of Phila(delphia) a Ch(urch) & english man among them.

10. After waiting an hour a wagon came for us. In Fort des Moines by 3. Bp. Lee²¹ joined us. Off before 4. Hilderman with me all the way—from Harrisburgh—has travelled in Egypt, Europe, &c. . . . Poor dinner. Lee took only milk—each pd (paid) 50 cents. Lee & H(ilderman) sick. L(ee) no supper. I walked up hill at midnight—fine breeze.

11. Yesterday we passed Mormons at Walnut Grove 4 miles f(rom) F(ort) des Moines. They looked wretched & dirty & had hand carts. Supper last night at Keiths, crowded—br(eakfast) today at Lewis. In Council Bluffs by 6. Called on Bloomer—she dressed in style. To bed early.

12. Slept 9 hours. Room to myself. Lee & Bloomer called. B(loomer) gave me a list of names of Churchmen at Omaha City. Met Irish²² at the ferry. The omnibus took us to the Douglas House (Omaha City). Called at Salisbury (the author of the L(etter) to Dr. Haight)—at Mrs. Smiths & saw there Hamilton a young Churchman from N. Y. and Mr. Barnum—at Shields. Dined at Salisburys—he honest and rough—a dg. (daughter) nearly grown has been at a romish school at St. Jos(eph.) We called upon S. Moffatt a cashier at one of the banks, he dined with us

¹⁹The Rev. William E. Wyatt, D.D., had been rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, for many years and President of the House of Deputies of the General Convention.

²⁰Transcript supplied by the Rev. Alden Drew Kelley, Madison, Wis.

²¹Rt. Rev. Henry Washington Lee, Bishop of Iowa.

²²Rev. William Irish, Missionary at St. Joseph, Missouri.

& is a comm(unicant). A horse & buggy were got for us & we rode to Florence 7 miles N(orth) on Mo. (Missouri). A few houses. It has been the crossing place of the Mormons—here there is a rock bottom in the river—and it is supposed the R. R. will cross here. A l(etter) from E. Cooke to Mitchell got us lots 44 & 5 in square 45 for the Church, & got a deed. Tea at Mrs. Smith's. She, her hub (husband) & boarders went to Salisbury's to sing. Mr. Moffatt was there & is master of music. Hear very little of Kansas here. Irish is polite, attentive & affectionate. Will travel with me some time—he is doubtful of my going beyond Leavenworth. Wants me to spend a Sunday with him.

13. Irish and I in same room. Very hot. No Wash basin—the room filled with clothes and trunks of other persons—boots not brushed. Assembled in Court House. A very crowded room. Lee came late & preached. Some stood all the time. Then Irish and I went to Salisbury's and ad(ministered) Eu(charist) to 6: Mrs. Salsibury, Mr. Moffatt, Mr. & Mrs. Clark, Mr. Hamilton & Mrs. Mills (whose hub (husband) keeps the tavern). Dinner at Shields—quite a nice one. . . . Took a nap. A good shower. Congregation in after(noon) not crowded. Met Tuttle, layman from Madison, Wis., now postmaster, Esterbrook from Wis., now district-atty. Salisbury sent us in a carriage to C Bl (Council Bluffs). Met Dr. Lowe, one of the owners of O. C. (Omaha City). At Bloomers to tea. I preached to a congregation. Appearances of rain. Irish and I stay at Benton's—one bed. Lee has 2 lots in Sioux City—a very hot day passed.

14. Clear & warm. Early br(eakfast). The Col.'s wife and sister pres(ent). He a banker. Bp. Lee too ill to go with us—he preached twice yesterday & then visited & addressed some Pawnee Indians. A long delay. Crossed (to Omaha). Called on Tuttle (cashier of the other bank), Selby, Clarke, Moffatt. Very hot. Clear—read—slept—wrote. Tea at Clarkes. Then 98. Met vestry. Two coms (committees) appointed—Dr. Hiller, Smith & Tuttle to get a lot here—& ?, Shields & Selby to get lots in all the new towns in the Territory.

15. A hot night, but slept well. Gratifying interview with Moffatt. Esterbrook takes us to Bellevue—at old Mission—at old trading house. Col. Sarpi (Sarpy)—Decatur—Description of Bad Lands. At Benton House, a good one. No charge at hotel in O. C. (Omaha City). Here Jennings landlord. The Ch(ief) justice Ferguson lives here. He promises land for the Ch(urch). The stage did not come in this morn(g) (morning).

16. Good bed. Irish & I in same room. Hot morning—boots cleaned. No stage or boat. Jennings has been a Metho(dist). Returned with Esterbrook. No charge today. E(sterbrook) took us to his house—2 chil-

dren—his father-in-law Maxwell. E(sterbrook) & wife in their carriage took us over to C. Bl. (Council Bluffs). We took passage for St. Jos(eph). The agent knew Bp. Hopkins. Slept. Very hot. Very dark. A little rain. Called on Bloomer. Lee was well when he left. . . . To bed early. Irish got a promise from Benton of 4 lots in Bellevue.

17. Called at midnight—off by 1—cooler wind last night, but only a few drops of rain. To Glenwood 23 (miles). Br(eakfast). Passed Tabor a settlement from Oberlin. The country is well settled. Dinner at Sidney opposite Nebraska City. Here learn Col. Lane to (go) to Chicago to get men to ascend & clear the Mo. (Missouri)—that Topeka assembly met & were dispersed by Col. Sumner's Troops. Tea at Linden 8 miles in Mo. (Missouri). A lovely day.

18. Stopt at day light—br(eakfast) at Jackson's Point—detained a long time. Dinner at Savannah. At St. Jos(eph) by 7. . . . Taken to Henry Cooke. Here the Rev. Holman of Weston. Soon to bed.

19. Slept well—br(eakfast) at 6½—wrote to Lill & Van Kleeck. Here Irish & Holman. H(olman) studied with Norton & is in poor health. . . . This is a nice family—Cooke was absent nearly 4 yrs. in California. Walked downtown—& got the promise of 4 lots in new town of Whitehouse? in Kansas. Here Irish to tea. Cloudy part of the day.

20. Clouded & quite cool at noon—a slight rain caused the congregation to be thin. A poor small building, low ceiling, on a lot bot by McNamara but has not a good title. Another lot is secured nearly out of town. The ladies have ice cream parties to build the Ch(urch). Holman reads well. Mr. Tate, Holman, & Irish called. The night congregation better—then very warm—& kind offers of hospitality. H(olman) says several Ch(urch) families in Lecompton. Irish says 6 years ago Phila(delphia) Assoc(iation) planned at Va. (Virginia) convocation by Dudley Tyng & Dr. Andrews. Mr. Rochester of R(ochester) in N. Y. was there who proposed Lee as Bp. & Io (Iowa) the place of operation. Both were agreed to & ministers were asked to send their contributions to the P. A. (Philadelphia Association) instead of the D(omestic) C(ommittee) & Irish refused.

21. Packed, sultry. Wrote to Mead to take Omaha City. Here Irish—at his house—at Cooke's store. Met Tate, Dr. Crane, Thompson, McNamara & wife. On board Polar Star, started after 10. No pay. At Doniphan. Sultry. River high. Here at 2 oc(lock). Rested all the afternoon. . . . Forman called. Met me some yrs. ago at Gen. Davies in Lewis Co(nty) Mo. Took me to his house, where I was comfortable. We had a service wh(ich) was well attended—but no Ch(urch)man present. 250

inhabitants here. Had ice water—a nice bed—4 rooms open.

22. Up early. Had family prs. (prayers). Went over the plot & selected 1 in 51 with right to buy 2. Irish to be my agent. Forman got us a mule & a covered wagon no charge. Travelling 2 miles we crossed Independence Creek in a boat—then 4 miles to Atchison. A very hot day. At Dickinson's hotel, his wife a Whittlesey. Met 2 of Sass' S. S. pupils—J. P. Carr, a lawyer educated at Cambridge—has a fine library & married it is said to a German—& Alexander. Here from Louisville A. G. Otis. 100 young men of S. Carolina have just left here to go to the Big Blue River 75 miles W(est) to found Palmetto City—most of them Ch(urch)men. Met Major Yates & De Treville of Charleston. Read Ch(urch) Jour(nal). Prepared for night. James D. Headley judge of probate—Carr in his office—a cool place on the hill. . . . S. Johnston will not probably settle here, not here now—he & Otis have secured 2 lots for the Ch(urch). Met Adams, formerly of the army, who told story of placing a preacher on a raft. Here old Adams of Weston, father of Mrs. Stringfellow. A few responded at worship. Irish & I in same room with Adams quite an invalid—4 beds in it.

23. Very hot & clear—a bad smell about the house. Wm. C. Nutt of Va. died last night. I am requested to bury him at 11. Wrote to Sass—to Ingraham, &c. Irish & I walked to the funeral—not ready & agree to wait till 5½. Two boats passed. A pleasant breeze. Wrote to Bp. Hawks—& wrote authority for Irish to obtain lots for the Ch(urch) in Kansas. Wrote a letter to leaders of the Palmetto Camp to give us lots ; attended funeral of Nutt—large company. Rec'd an umbrella. Irish sang & spoke long. A long hot walk up hill. Efforts to get off to Weston by returning carriage but failed. Mr. Scott & others very grateful. Arrival of 24 young men from Barnwell, S. C. Perfect confidence here of Kansas being a Slave State. Returned to tavern. Scott & Carr called. Delightful in the office but hot at the tavern. Adams will write to Palmetto City for lots for the Ch(urch). In same room again.

24. Disturbed again by old Adams during the night. Up early. Off in a fair carriage & 2 young horses for Weston. Very hilly & some rough roads. rapid driving. Otis, &c. pay for this drive. Crossed Missouri at Kickapoo in a steam ferry. From there 3 miles to Weston—a hilly place. At the St. Georges, a hot, small (room). Slept, washed—ice cream, &c. Ch(urch) in an upper room, waited a long time & then a few came. It was very hot. Informed of Church people at Lecompton.

LETTER²³ TO ELIZABETH KEMPER ADAMS

Leavenworth Kansas
26 July 1856

Dearest daughter,

I have made my arrangements to spend, God willing, tomorrow week at Council City, visiting on the way Leocompton and perhaps Lawrence. In such a case I hope I may reach St. Louis, or Chicago or Milwaukee the night of the 9th August and it is possible that I may be home by that time. But I would say do not look out much for me until 12th Aug. I am sorry for this delay on dear De Koven's account, for I fear he cannot expect a Sunday from me before 17th Aug. But the importance of being here & at the other places I have mentioned is most evident. Here is a large, growing and very wicked town, where the Romanists have already a Bp. and a whole square on which is erected a residence for him, a Ch(urch).

Lecompton is the capital & I am afraid it has already a goodly number of Church families, probably all from the South. And Council City being a Missionary station and the destined home of the Stones,²⁴ I ought to know its actual position and importance. I shall go alone in a private conveyance with a son of the Emerald Isle to drive. The fellow²⁵ is a true orange man but earnestly loves to live upon the Church. The country is altogether at peace; and I carry with me a letter from the Major Gen. of the district, Penifer F. Smith, whom I met yesterday at the Fort, only a mile from here, and who recognized me at once, altho he had not seen me for 37 years. His father was Jonathan Smith, whom I well recalled in Phila(delphia), & his sister is the wife of E. Littell of Living Age notoriety. I was in some distress yesterday, for we were at a miserable crowded tavern with fairest prospect of soiled sheets and active bed bugs. But at a late hour we were taken a mile out of town & I am now most comfortably situated at a Mr. Mills, where everything is good and clean. Here there are but few Church people—yet there are some—and I have an appointment here tomorrow mornng. (morning) & at the fort tomorrow afternoon. The fort is but a mile from here. It is a very important place—new buildings are going on most rapidly. It will probably become the largest military station in our country.

28th

I am now at Major Sibly's at the fort. Yesterday morning I had the entire service of the Church & about a dozen men and women to respond. The place was well

²³Original in the Kemper Collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society.

²⁴Rev. Hiram Stone sent as Missionary a few months later to Leavenworth City.

²⁵Refers to the Rev. William Irish, Missionary at St. Joseph, Mo.

filled tho not crowded. In the afternoon the Chapel here had a goodly number of worshippers, and at night I administered the Eucharist to 10—five men & their wives, among whom were Major Sibley & Major Hunter, and confirmed a Lt. Ransom.

Last night we had a long desired rain.

Lecompton Kansas

31 July 1856

I am here at last and was exceedingly disappointed—yet something has been done and the prospect is slightly encouraging. I was called upon this morning to visit & pray with a dying man—& from there I was taken about two miles from town, where I baptized Elizabeth Josephine born a week ago. Her parents of name of Evans appeared to be zealous and attached to true principles. If there is a real Churchman in this village I have not met either him or her.

As to sleeping! What stories I could tell. This is indeed a new country. I now am assured that 35 miles on a good road takes me to Council City. On 4th Aug. my face is homeward. . . .

EXCERPT FROM COPY OF LETTER²⁶ TO REV. DR. VAN KLEECK²⁷
 "ON BOARD S. S. AUBREY," AUG. 7TH, 1856

. . . have been uniformly treated with kindness, as I am at present on board the "Aubrey."

Something effectual, I think, has been done for Omaha City. But it will never do to send a poor clergyman there with a large family. The Miss(ionar)y who goes there must board or be enabled to erect a dwelling for himself. If you appoint but one for Nebraska he sh'd (should) be authorized to visit various parts of the Territory. I regret I was unable to be at Nebraska City.

With respect to Kansas if S C (South Carolina) will undertake a Mission to Palmetto C(ity) or Atchison—& New Haven to C C (Council City)—I trust you will appoint a miss(ionar)y to Leavenworth C(ity) without delay. Not that we have many Episcopalians there, tho upon A A Hall & wife—Berthond & wife—Mills & wife, Dr. Fackles, Mr. Emery, Mr. Moon & others we can rely to some extent—but the importance & promise of the place, & its vicinity to the Fort make it even now a place worthy our utmost efforts. Dr. Cuyler of the Fort stated to me his belief that Mr. Wells of West Point was admirably adapted to the position & w(ou)ld be disposed to come. From what I know of him, let me say, use every effort to secure him.

²⁶From Kemper Letter Book, Wisconsin State Historical Society.

²⁷The Rev. R. B. Van Kleeck, D.D., Secretary and General Agent of the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions (1853-1861).

Lecompton is the present seat of government. It is small. The information I rec'd of there being several Ch(urch) families here was in a great measure incorrect, & I was about leaving it in despair. But being detained in consequence of an accident to the horses I found Mr & Mrs James DeBrun Evans who reside 2 miles from the place warmhearted Ch(urch) people f(rom) Richmond in Va. I baptised their infant, only 8 days old, & learned there were other persons in Lecompton & its neighbourhood who were attached to our worship. I had the promise of one or more lots. A subscription paper was drawn up, and it was thought a considerable sum might be raised for the erection of a Ch(urch).

Topeka at a future day will doubtless demand our attention. It is beautifully situated on the Kansas river & has some very good buildings. I did no more than pass thro it.

And now what shall I say of C C (Council City now Council Grove)? Imagine a small, beautiful elevated prairie almost surrounded by 2 small creeks wh(ich) form the head waters of the Osage. On the banks of these creeks there is a narrow belt of woods, universally called timber in this country. A large city was laid out on this elevated prairie, & falling into the hands of speculators, several persons purchased lots, & started for this remote place wh(ich) is 89 miles on the S(anta) Fe road f(rom) Kansas C(ity) & about 75 miles f(rom) Kansas C(ity). Travelling as most of them did on the S(anta) Fe road they must have observed the great scarcity of timber, & in order to secure it made claims at once on the banks of the creeks, where they build their shanties. These streams in midsummer do not dry up, but what is worse the water ceases to flow & pools are formed. It is not surprising therefore that chills & remitting fevers prevailed both last summer & this. As soon however as the land is brot into market & the claims can be secured by purchase, the majority of the people will build on City lots or other parts of the prairie; and then doubtless health will prevail. As I approached the place I was assured it was a one house City. But this is a slander, for I was assured that there were 2 or more dwellings besides the conspicuous log-cabin wh(ich) is now occupied by the most zealous Epis(copalia)ns of the country. Havens— & Lord & his family. But let me tell you of sunday. Mr Lord's room was crowded with respectable & intelligent looking people, & some, unable to obtain seats, remained outside. The full service of the Ch(urch) was duly celebrated both M(orning) and E(vening). I preached twice, & confirmed 2 females, who had been duly prepared for that apostolic rite before leaving Litchfield in Conn. The music was good, we had some of the chants, & a melodeon brot from a neighbouring house was sweetly & correctly played.

The Lord's Supper was not administered because wine could not be obtained in the neighbourhood.

And now what shall we do? By all means send the Miss(ionar)y there so that he can arrive early in Oct(obe)r immediately after the first frost. The place has not grown as was fully expected, yet the settlement probably contains 70 families. The disturbances of the Territory—& the impossibility of obtaining lumber—the difficulty of getting their goods from Mo (Missouri) river—with the sickness that has prevailed—have kept back emigrants & in a measure discouraged the early settlers. It is however highly probable that all these difficulties will soon vanish. Peace will soon prevail & then all emigrants will be welcomed. The steam mill of Col Schuyler will be in operation before this month has elapsed, wh(ich) will not only saw lumber but grind wheat. Goods for the interior will hereafter be landed at L(eavenworth) City & everything will be done by the merchants there to transport them in safety to their destination. And when the houses are built in the city or on the prairie I believe that (health will prevail). . . .

LETTER²⁸ TO BISHOP WHITTINGHAM

New York,
23rd, May, 1857

My dear Bishop:

May I solicit of you the favour if circumstances at all permit, of diverting a part of your jubilee²⁹ to Wisconsin?

I need not mention that I am the oldest Missionary Bishop, and that I expect to remain in harness while strength is granted me. At present, there are at least two worthy and useful Clergymen, who, in consequence of the failure of certain promises, depend upon my slender resources to keep them from suffering and want.

I can obtain men, well trained and devoted men—and churchmen are scattered throughout the country to such an extent that 20 missionaries could be constantly employed among those who still belong to the household of faith—but aid is required, aid for a short time, until the people can recover from the heavy expenses incurred by long journeys, purchasing farms, building houses, etc. A remembrance of us at the Jubilee collection would relieve us from our difficulties, and enable us to go on our way rejoicing; for then we could keep among us the Nashotah students, and ask those excellent men to remain with us, who from time to time offer their services. The Board of Missions does not more than half supply our present needs.

²⁸The original of this letter is in the Maryland Diocesan Library. It was written BEFORE the panic of 1857.

²⁹The Jubilee was the seventy-fifth anniversary of the organization of the Diocese of Maryland.

If you cannot aid me officially, may I write to some of your clergy?

I do not finally leave here until monday 2nd June, when I start to return to Wisconsin.

I am my dear Bishop

faithfully and affectly yours

Jackson Kemper

Rt Rev. William R. Whittingham
Baltimore, Maryland.

LETTER³⁰ TO THE REVEREND DR. CASWALL,³¹ ENGLAND

Delafield, Wis^a
6th March 1858

My dear Sir,

Your gratifying letter was duly received, and I trust your Society³² will be able to remit to me for Mr. Shaw³³ another £20. And I say this not only because he wants

³⁰The original of this letter is in the possession of Mr. William Ives Rutter, Jr., Secretary of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia.

³¹The Rev. Harry Caswall, author of "America and the American Church" (a valuable source for the history of the American Church between 1830 and 1850), and two volumes on the "Mormons," came to the United States from England as a young man of eighteen on the invitation of Bishop Chase and was one of the spiritual fruits of the latter's visit to England in 1823 in search of funds for Kenyon College. Caswall arrived in 1828, graduated from Kenyon in 1830, married a niece of Bishop Chase, was made deacon by the latter June 12, 1831, and served the Church in Portsmouth, Ohio, about two years. In search of health, he moved to New England and studied at Andover during the fall and winter of 1833-34. For the next three years Caswall was professor of Sacred Literature and curate to Bishop Smith in Lexington, Kentucky, where a theological seminary had recently been established. Moving to Madison, Indiana, he was ordained priest July 2, 1837, by Bishop Kemper. He appears to have visited all over the eastern part of the United States and met personally the outstanding leaders of the Church. He served the Church in Canada from 1838 to 1841, and then "accepted a nomination from my old friend Bishop Kemper, as Theological Professor in a college founded by him, near St. Louis, Missouri" (Kemper College). But first he went to England to collect books for the Kemper College Library, finally reaching St. Louis November 15, 1841. After a year spent in teaching, he was again commissioned to go to England: "I employed myself immediately in circulating a true narrative of the Mormon delusion, and in obtaining assistance towards the completion of the library at Kemper College." After procuring "at considerable expense, a Private Act of Parliament, by which the disabilities of my American ordination were removed, and I was placed on the same footing, substantially, with those ordained in the English Establishment," he resigned his Kemper College professorship and remained in England for the rest of his life, except for a visit in 1853 as a member of the S. P. G. delegation to the General Convention. He was at this time Vicar of Figheldean, Wilts., and a Secretary of the Anglo-American Emigrants' Aid Society.

³²The Anglo-American Emigrants' Aid Society was the outgrowth of the visit of the S. P. G. delegation to the American Church in 1853. Organized in June, 1855, with the Bishop of London as President and Caswall as Secretary, the S. P. G., being unable to act because of constitutional limitations, it sought to stem the tremendous losses of English emigrants to the Church by work on both sides of the Atlantic. Contributions in aid of missionary work among English immigrants were made to St. Stephen's House, Boston, St. Luke's Hospital, New York, and the Dioceses of Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and California. English students studying at Nashotah were assisted with scholarships.

³³The Rev. Henry C. Shaw, Rector of St. Alban's, Lisbon, Wis.

the money, but because the hard times³⁴ have pressed so severely upon his flock that they have been either unable or unwilling to fulfill their promises towards him. He is most faithful in the performance of his duty and the people are attached to him; but I fear he may leave them if he is not better sustained; and such an event would injure them in your estimation as well as ours; and be discouraging to your noble efforts. Business will doubtless revive by summer, and should the crops prove favorable, the zeal and gratitude of St. Alban's³⁵ parish will I trust revive.

Most heartily do I thank you and Mr. Dickinson³⁶ for your kind invitation. Doubtless I should greatly enjoy myself while in England; and without a wish to cross the channel, would delight to devote myself to any good cause while viewing its various objects of (to an American Churchman) surpassing interest. But the one idea of my life for the last 22 years has been Missions in the Northwest. From that field as far as missionary work is concerned I expect to retire at the opening of the next General Convention.³⁷ But until then I shall be most fully occupied if health permit—and I rejoice to say that for some months past it has been excellent. I have now appointments out for every Sunday and many week days until 4th July; and then, if I retain charge of Kansas³⁸ (which however is very doubtful) I ought to start for that Territory. Next year will bring innumerable occupations and many anxieties. and *then*, surely I shall be too old to make such a voyage. No! I must resign the hope I once cherished.

I have already intimated to you I believe that the Rev. David Keene,³⁹ rector of St. John's, Milwaukee, intends if possible to visit his native land, leaving here probable the middle of June. Being in the prime of life, of mature observation, perfectly orthodox, and well acquainted with the characteristic traits both of Englishmen and Americans, you might find him of great use in making known the objects of the Emigrant Aid Society.⁴⁰ Judge for yourselves

³⁴This refers to the period following the panic of 1857.

³⁵St. Alban's Parish, Lisbon, Waukesha County, composed largely of English immigrants.

³⁶F. H. Dickinson, Esq., one of the secretaries of the Anglo-American Emigrants' Aid Society.

³⁷The General Convention of 1859, which met in Richmond, Va., October 5th to 22nd, during which (October 13th) Henry Benjamin Whipple was consecrated first Diocesan of Minnesota and Kemper relinquished the last of his many missionary districts.

³⁸He did in fact visit Kansas in November, 1858, and returned the following summer (1859), and visited every parish and mission. In August of the latter year, at the request of the majority, he convoked and presided at what turned out to be the primary convention of the Diocese of Kansas in Wyandotte (now Kansas City, Kansas). Against his advice, for he felt the step premature (in which he was a true prophet), a diocesan organization was formed and applied for admission to the General Convention. See below, Letter of December 27th, 1859, to the Rev. N. O. Preston, Manhattan, Kansas.

³⁹For further reference to Keene, see: Breck, *Life of James Lloyd Breck*, pp. 50, 80.

⁴⁰See ante, Note 32.

when you see him. He is modest and reverential—speaks with ease and eloquence and abounds in good sense.

I have read this morning with great interest Article VI in the Jany No. of the X^{an} Remembrancer.⁴¹ My daughter Mrs Adams says you are the author; and I have no doubt of it. It must do good, and awaken an abiding interest in favour of your Society. I observed but two mistakes, and they are very slight. On page 168 Dr. Van Ingen⁴² is spoken of as residing in Chicago. He never did. Before he went to Minnesota, Rochester in Western New York was his home. Again the Rev. W. Adams⁴³ of Nashotah is a D.D. (and a much more learned one than Dr. V. I.) altho he will not assume the title.

Our Mr. Unonius⁴⁴ starts in April for Upsala with his family to make it his permanent home. We have great hopes that indirectly he may produce great effect upon the Swedish Ch. & awaken her to a sense of her duties & privileges. Of this hope, *nothing should be said in public*. To the extent of his means (but they are very slender) he will translate and publish to the Scandinavians the best writings of the Anglican Church, and thus if possible lead to a union at least of the National Ch of Sweden with that of England & ours.

Most truly & affly, with best love to your household
Jackson Kemper

Rev. Dr Caswall
England

LETTER⁴⁵ TO THE REV. N. O. PRESTON, MANHATTAN, KANSAS

Delafield, Wis.
27th Dec/59

My dear Sir

I enclose a transfer as you request, but I do not think it necessary. The very fact of your being a presbyter of

⁴¹The "Christian Remembrancer," an English quarterly review, Vol. XXV, pp 159-185, London, 1858. The article referred to deals with the serious losses of English emigrants to the Church, the reasons for them, what should be done and how the Society was helping to solve the problems.

⁴²The Rev. John U. Van Ingen, D.D., Rector of Christ Church, St. Paul, Minnesota; formerly Rector of Grace Church, Rochester, New York.

⁴³The Rev. William Adams, D.D., with Breck, one of the founders of Nashotah, Professor of Systematic Theology, and the Bishop's son-in-law.

⁴⁴Gustaf Unonius, a Swede, was Nashotah's first graduate, class of 1845. After ordination, he served Scandinavian congregations in Wisconsin and, in 1849, organized St. Ansgarius' Church for Swedes in Chicago. After returning to Sweden, Unonius wrote a three-volume history of Nashotah in Swedish, and the article "Swedish Church" in Staunton's "Ecclesiastical Dictionary," pp. 630-634, 4th ed., New York, 1873, is from his pen. See, further: Breck, op. cit., pp. 71, 463; Historical Magazine, Vol. II, pp. 14-18.

⁴⁵The original in the possession of Wm. Ives Rutter, Jr., of Philadelphia.

Kansas, and especially of your having united in forming the Diocese,⁴⁶ would entitle you to every privilege.

I hear there is an intention of making Dr. Howe⁴⁷ your Bishop. I trust this will not be the case, for if elected I shall consider myself bound to oppose his consecration. Surely there are enough men after your own heart against whom there can be no objections besides Dr. Howe.

Very truly yours,

Jackson Kemper

Rev. N. O. Preston,
Manhattan,
Kansas.

⁴⁶In 1859 there were nine clergymen in the Territory of Kansas, including the chaplains at the forts. During Bishop Kemper's visitation of the summer preceding the date of this letter, a majority of these requested a meeting or assembly of the Church in the territory. Bishop Kemper complied and presided at this primary convention held in Wyandotte (the oldest municipality, platted and settled by whites in 1857 and now part of Kansas City, Kansas), where a diocesan organization was formed and application made to the General Convention of that fall for admission. Bishop Kemper opposed the measure as premature, in which he was correct.

⁴⁷The Rev. Mark A. DeWolfe Howe, D.D., then rector of St. Luke's Church, Philadelphia. Kemper's opposition to any candidate for the episcopate in any diocese under his jurisdiction was exceptional. Hitherto he had scrupulously avoided even the shadow of exercising undue influence upon his clergy in an episcopal election. This forthright declaration served its purpose. Dr. Howe was not elected Bishop of Kansas. After Kemper's death, he was elected first Bishop of Central Pennsylvania, and consecrated December 28, 1871.

In 1860, the clergy of Kansas elected the Rev. Francis McNeece Whittle, rector of St. Paul's Church, Louisville, Kentucky, but the laity did not concur. Whittle was consecrated Assistant Bishop of Virginia, April 30, 1868, and became fifth Bishop of Virginia, 1876.

At a later convention, the Rev. Heman Dyer of New York, Secretary of the Evangelical Knowledge Society and a leader in the organization of the American Church Missionary Society in 1858, was elected. In 1835, when the news reached Kenyon College, where Dyer was one of the young professors, that in the reorganization of the Missionary Society, the domestic missions had been handed over to the High Churchmen and foreign missions to the Low Churchmen, Dyer exclaimed: "What a mistake! What a blunder!" Dyer declined his election to Kansas.

The Diocese of Kansas then placed itself under the care of Bishop Lee of Iowa, who faithfully discharged his duty until the consecration of Dr. Thomas H. Vail, December 15, 1864, as first Bishop of Kansas.

KEMPER BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compiled by an Associate Editor

THE collection of Bishop Kemper manuscripts and other documents in the archives of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, is a storehouse of source material not only for his life but for the history of the American Episcopal Church during his episcopate: 1835-1870. Comparatively little work has been done upon it by scholars and, in fact, a complete catalogue of the collection is not yet available. The following brief summary of the collection is furnished us by the Rev. Alden Drew Kelley, Chaplain of St. Francis' House, Madison, Wisconsin, who promises us a detailed catalogue for a later issue.

- A. 50 bound volumes of miscellaneous papers totaling over 7,000 items, including letters received, letters written (mainly to members of the Bishop's family), receipts, bills, etc.; minutes, resolutions, official forms, reports, pamphlets, clippings from newspapers and magazines, and miscellaneous notes.
- B. 63 diaries (the most of which are not complete and there are many periods of time which have no entries).
- C. 15 letter-books of various dates giving copies of letters which the Bishop wrote.
- D. 29 miscellaneous note-books.
- E. 5 account books and a register.
- F. 4 notebooks on miscellaneous religious subjects, texts for sermons, Bible class notes, etc.
- G. 1 book giving portion of diary and "plan of Study" (the latter being the Bishop's rules for prayer, study, etc.).
- H. 1 package of miscellaneous fragments (about 60 different items).

PUBLISHED SELECTIONS

The following catalogue is, to the best of our knowledge, a complete list of published selections of the Kemper documents, arranged in chronological order of events in the Bishop's life:

I. Wisconsin Historical Collections, R. G. Thwaites, Editor; Vol. XIV., pp. 394-449; Madison, 1898. "Journal of an Episcopalian Missionary's Tour to Green Bay," with notes by the Editor. Selections from Kemper's Journal dealing with his trip of inspection to the Green Bay Mission in 1834.

II. Nashotah Scholiast, Vol. II. (Oct., 1884-June, 1885). "Extracts from Bishop Kemper's Letters" concerning missionary tours in the Southwest and South (1837-1838): (pp. 4-5, Shawnee Methodist Mission, Indian Territory, Nov. 22, 1837; Fort Leavenworth, Ind. Terr., Nov. 24, 1837; Boonville, Mo., Nov. 11, 1838); (pp. 27-28, Polk County, Mo., Nov. 16, 1838; Sarcoxie, Mo., Nov. 19, 1838); (pp. 42-43, Seneca Agency, Nov. 21-Dec. 2, 1838); (pp. 52-54, Visitation of South at request of Bishop Otey, Jan. 19-Feb. 19, 1838, Memphis, Natchez, Woodville, New Orleans); (pp. 77-78, Mobile, Ala., Feb. 23—Pensacola, Fla., March 2, 1838); (p. 101, Tallahassee, Fla., March 10, March 23-April 16, 1838); (pp. 112-113, Macon, Ga.; Columbus, Miss.; Montgomery, Ala.; Greensboro, Tuscaloosa, Ala.); (pp. 125-127, April 19-May 12, 1838, Columbus, Miss. — New Orleans, La.).

III. Wisconsin Magazine of History, Volume VIII.: 423-445, June, 1925. "A Trip Through Wisconsin in 1838," being Kemper's primary visitation of Wisconsin, covering his Journal from July 18th to August 25th, 1838.

IV. Minnesota History (magazine of the Minnesota Historical Society), Volume VII. (1926), pp. 264-273. "Bishop Jackson Kemper's Visit to Minnesota in 1843," being selections from Kemper's letters and diary with introduction and footnotes supplied by Dr. Grace L. Nute, Curator of Manuscripts for the Minnesota Historical Society.

V. Nashotah Scholiast, Vol. I. (Dec., 1883-July, 1884). "Extracts from Bishop Kemper's Journal in regard to the Beginnings of Nashotah." No. 1, 1-3 (Jan.-Sept., 1841); No. 2, pp. 1-3 (Sept.-Oct., 1841); No. 3, pp. 1-3 (1843-Feb., 1844); No. 4, pp. 2-3 (Feb.-Mar., 1844); No. 5, pp. 1-3 (July, 1844-Apr., 1845); No. 6, pp. 1-3 (June, 1845-May, 1846); No. 7, pp. 1-3 (July, 1846-Dec., 1848); No. 8, pp. 1-3 (Jan., 1849-June, 1859).

VI. Nashotah Scholiast, Vol. II (October, 1884-Dec., 1884-Feb., 1884), pp. 25, 41, 58. "The Story of Kemper College, St. Louis," by C. F. Robertson, Bishop of Missouri. While not strictly Kemper MSS., this account of an institution begun by Bishop Kemper and bound up with the early years of his episcopate appears to have been based on considerable first-hand information.

VII. Katharine Jeanne Gallagher (Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.): "A Bishop of the Old Frontier"; sub-title: "The Work of Bishop Jackson Kemper in the Northwest Mission." A doctor's thesis, still in manuscript form which will be in the custody of the University of Wisconsin, based on Kemper manuscripts which are extensively quoted.

